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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF

THE LIFE AND ACTS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN AYLMER,

LORD BP. OF LONDON IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

WHEREIN ARE EXPLAINED

MANY TRANSACTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND;
AND WHAT METHODS WERE THEN TAKEN TO
PRESERVE IT, WITH RESPECT BOTH TO
THE PAPIST AND PURITAN.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

A NEW EDITION.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
MDCCCXXI.

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TO THE HONOURABLE

ADMIRAL AYLMER.

SIR,

ACCEPT the Dedication of this Life of Bishop Aylmer. For to what other name may it more justly belong than yours? Not only in that you both are sprung from the same ancient family, but by reason of your high and deserved advancements: he, by his Prince placed in one of the chiefest trusts in the Church; you, by yours in as great and honourable a charge in the Navy. In which you have not only been successful, by bringing home in safety the Turkey fleet in the midst of war, and a sea full of enemies laying wait for you, but since by *cutting* [or agreeing] for the redemption of his Majesty's subjects, lying for many years in a most miserable slavery under the Emperor of Morocco; and have gained other advantages, both for the honour and trade of England; as may be seen in the Articles confirmed by you with the governments of Tunis and Tripoli. But you, Sir, had rather *do* great services, than *hear* of them, and receive the praises due for them. And therefore I stop my pen from proceeding any farther in this argument.

Sir, that you may still live, and be the instrument

of much more good to the King and kingdom, may I presume to be your monitor? Remember from whose hands all your successes and honours flow; acknowledge Him, and let Him have the glory. The crest and motto belonging to the other branch of your family may be your remembrancer: which is, three flourishing slips of the plant *allelujah*, (as herbalists call the *trifolium acetosum*,) and a scroll compassing the same, with the word *Allelujah*, which signifies, *Praise the Lord:* let that, Sir, (which is their motto,) be your practice.

To conclude, if you shall please at your leisure minutes to read over these Historical Collections concerning this Prelate your namesake, (as history is the mistress and instructor of life,) whatsoever you find praiseworthy in him, follow. Follow whatsoever you observe in him springing from the noble principles of religion, conscience, and true magnanimity, and let them ever live and flourish in the house of the Aylmers: with which wish and prayer I end this address, being,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN STRYPE.

THE

PREFACE.

To give some account of my doings in publishing this piece, let me premise a few things. I confess I have been led, by a strong propension of mind, to make inquiry into the ecclesiastic affairs of this kingdom, happening especially in the last century of years but one, (namely, that called the *sæculum reformatum*,) when the state of religion underwent so great a change in Europe, and particularly in England. And that I might herein be profitable to others as well as to myself, I have been willing to communicate what I have collected and discovered out of various records and archives, as well as other old cast-by printed tracts; this kind of history, especially along through the reign of Queen Elizabeth, being very sparingly hitherto made known to us.

And because the hinges of public affairs have chiefly turned on the management of those in eminent places and offices, Biography may deservedly require its place in history: I have had a great respect to it in the collections I have made; taking due notice of all such persons as have made a figure either in the Church or State, and observing as much as I could of their acts and characters; especially of such whose aims and pursuits have been just and honourable. Of such I have had a mind to revive the memory, and retrieve their names from being lost in perpetual oblivion, by drawing up some accounts of them, taken out of their own letters and papers, or elsewhere; intending to offer some of them to the present age: a thing due to wor-

thy men, that their names and good works may never die, nor be forgotten. And as it is a piece of justice to them, so of considerable benefit to us in this age; the contemplating of their lives being like to prove of very good use to those that have the skill to gather lessons of prudence and conduct in human life from them. I may add, the pleasure and satisfaction that is commonly taken in relations and histories of persons of rank and eminence that lived in former times. It hath somewhat very acceptable and agreeable in it, as there is in seeing the lively portraitures or statues of such as have been great Statesmen or learned Ecclesiastics, being the usual ornament of the galleries of noblemen's houses: though those could but represent the outward shape, and not the minds and deeds, as history can and doth. What flocking is there when an ambassador or a great man is to be seen! Many put themselves to the expenses of travelling abroad, chiefly to see the faces of fortunate princes, or to be acquainted with profound scholars, or men of some other great figure. And what inquiries do they make into their manners, opinions, and factions! Which shews what a delight mankind usually takes in the knowledge of men, whose dignities or employments have distinguished them from the inferior rank.

I have in this book shewn to the world one of these singular men, *viz.* Queen Elizabeth's third Bishop of London. Within whose diocese lay both the Court, Westminster Hall, and London, the great metropolis of the nation: and by whom the Archbishop of Canterbury passed all his injunctions and mandates to the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of his province. And therefore we may reasonably look for matters of great moment to be occasionally recommended to this Bishop in this busy reign, and to fall into the accounts we give of him.

If it be asked why I do not rather begin with Grindal and Sandys, this Bishop's two immediate predecessors in the said see of London; it is enough to answer at present, that the one being afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other of York, it may be more proper to treat of

them (as perhaps in due time I may) under the denominations of the sees whereof they were possessed when they died.

In what I have writ, I have endeavoured invariably to follow the tract of truth, and have related things as I found them. I may perhaps be censured for this plain and impartial way of writing, and blamed, that I have not put some veil or varnish upon some things, and been wholly silent of others, which might reflect some blemish upon the man I write of. In truth, I make no scruple to express the defects and failings of men, as well as their excellent qualities and praiseworthy deeds. We are not writing a panegyric, but a faithful account. A sober reader might justly misdoubt the whole, when all is praise, and every passage of the life is represented as coming up to the perfect and commensurate rule of justice, virtue, and honour. And herein I follow a good historian, (Morison, Secretary to the Lord Mountjoy, sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland,) who, undertaking to write his Lord and Master's acts, bids his reader confidently to believe, "that as in the duty of "a servant he would not omit any thing he remembered, "which might turn to his Lord's honour; so, in his love "to truth, he would be so far from lying and flattery, as "he would rather be bold modestly to mention some of his "defects, whereof the greatest worthiness of the world can-"not be altogether free." Adding, that "as he esteemed ly-"ing and flattery by word of mouth among the living to be in-"fallible notes of baseness and ignorance, so he judged these "vices infamous and sinful, when they were left in print to "deceive posterity." And as for the errors in good men's lives, it suffices to say, that we are not angels in this state of mortality, and *men will be men*, as Archbishop Parker used to say. The best have their imperfections; and there have been many singular useful men, whose passions or other temptations have made them sometimes to deviate and go aside; and yet may their names stand fair, and their examples be recommended to posterity. Some slips and failings perhaps we may find in this Bishop in reading

his history: which his public spirit, his zeal for the Protestant religion, his learning, his steady and careful government, and other singular accomplishments, will abundantly atone. But whereas a great many charges and criminations of a fouler nature were cast upon him, they will prove but the uncharitable and angry slanders of his enemies, the *innovators*, whom he neither favoured nor spared. And, in justice to the memory of a great Father of our Church, I have endeavoured to vindicate and clear his name from such impudent calumniations and picked-up stories, as are in Martin Marprelate, and some other malicious scribblers in those times.

But to prevent the objection of some, who do not like this age's practice, of burdening the world, as they call it, with such abundance of needless and frivolous books, let me add to what I have already said concerning the reason of my setting forth this piece, that (besides the life and acts of a single man, that, dying above an hundred years ago, the present generation is not much concerned for) it contains in it matter of more public concern. For there fall in with it many transactions in the Church; as the proceedings of the Commission for ecclesiastical causes; particular relations what grounds and interests both Papistry, and that which was termed Puritanism and Separatism got; how the State was awaked with these things; what orders came down, and what prosecutions thereupon; the state of the Clergy of London and the diocese; matters discovered in visitations; things not yet taken notice of in our histories, but rather declined and purposely omitted. Camden, our best historian for these times, lightly toucheth at matters of this nature, professing to leave them to the ecclesiastical historian.

Notices and characters are here likewise given of divers remarkable persons then living both in the Church and State, as, namely, the faithful, the just, and wise Lord Treasurer Burghley, the great favourite the Earl of Leicester, the diligent Secretary Walsingham, the truly learned and experienced Secretary Wylson, and other Statesmen;

divers Archbishops and Bishops, and other eminent Churchmen, *viz.* Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, Sandys, Cox, Nowell, Goodman, Fox; many of the chief Papists, Feckenham, Watson, Meridith, Allen, Campion; and Puritans, as Whright, Chark, Field, Wilcox, Carew, Giffard, Cartwright, Cawdry, Barrow, Greenwood, and others of that rank. Which things, when duly considered, may render this book of public use and advantage, though the argument of it be more private, and relate chiefly to one man.

Should any be desirous to know upon what foot of truth I stand, and what authority I have for what I have written, I acknowledge the demand to be very reasonable, and I shall freely declare what notes I have made use of, and whence I have gathered my materials. In general, I have been furnished from authentic registers and records, from original letters and other MSS. some lying in public archives, and others in more private libraries. Some help also I have had from certain old tracts and pamphlets printed in those times. But to be more particular, (for this perhaps may give a satisfaction to some more inquisitive persons,) at the end of this book I have set down a catalogue of the manuscripts, together with the other ancient printed treatises, both that I have made use of, and that are mentioned in the history.

And here I cannot but take this occasion publicly to acknowledge my singular obligations to divers reverend and honourable persons, who have granted me the liberty of consulting very valuable papers in their possession or custody. Among these is the right honourable and learned Sir Joseph Williamson; who, after my requests of being admitted into the Paper Office had been made known unto him by the favour of the most reverend Father in Christ the present Archbishop of Canterbury, allowed me to take a view of the ecclesiastical papers there; and afterward, by a warrant from the most honourable the King's Privy Council, with the same obliging readiness, to take copies of divers of them for my use, in the compiling an ecclesiastical history under my hands; whereby I was furnished with

some things for my present purpose. By the favour also of my right honourable and right reverend Diocesan Henry Lord Bishop of London, I have had access to the Registry of the Bishops of London: where I was kindly received and directed by Mr. Alexander, the Deputy Register. The right reverend the Lord Bishop of Norwich, the possessor of a great and curious collection of MSS. and other ancient printed pieces, (little inferior to MSS. in regard of their scarceness,) hath also been very considerably assistant to me, as well in this present work, as in others, by that free leave, nay, and invitation, he hath given me to peruse, and make transcriptions out of any of them. Nor do I forget the obliging readiness of Sir Henry St. George Clarent. King at Arms, with others belonging unto the noble Office of Heralds; who with all willingness afforded me the use of their books, in order to the searching for the family and pedigree of our Bishop, as well as for divers other things, serviceable to some purposes I have in hand.

And this at length is the sum of what I had to say to the reader; praying him, in case he discovers any slips or oversights, to pardon them to one who looks upon himself as a frail and fallible man, and is apt enough to have mean conceits of his own performances, and very ready to be set right, and thankful to be instructed, as well as willing to contribute his talent to instruct others. And thus I bid the reader farewell.

J. S.

From Low Leyton in Essex,
February 6, 1700.

THE

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

CONCERNING THE

RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN AYLMER,

SOMETIME

LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

CHAP. I.

His birth, education, and preferments; exile and return. Made Archdeacon of Lincoln.

BISHOP Aylmer (of whom this ensuing book must treat) bore a name variously written; sometimes Aylmer, sometimes Ailemare, (and so I find it written by the learned Camden Clarentieux in one of his books of heraldry,) sometimes Elmer, sometimes Ælmer, with the Saxon diphthong, (and so he wrote himself,) contracted, as it seems, from the Saxon name Adelmar, or Ethelmar; for that the name is Saxon is undoubted. And in the catalogue of the Bishops of Sherborn in the Saxon times, *viz.* anno 1009, we have one of the same name.

The name of Aylmer.

Int. MSS. D. Hen. S. George Mil. Clarentieux.

He was one of the excellent Bishops made choice of by Queen Elizabeth to assist in the government of the Church of England; and placed in one of the chief sees thereof, being to superintend ecclesiastical matters in the chief metropolis of the realm, the city of London, with the diocese thereof.

He was a gentleman by birth, of the ancient family of

His extract and birth.

CHAP. I.

the Aylmers, spreading in Norfolk and Suffolk; for the Aylmers of Quadring, in the county of Lincoln, gave a different coat of arms, and so may be concluded to be of another family. The Aylmers with whom we are to be concerned bear for their coat of arms, argent, a cross sable, between four choughs of the same; whence some derive the name Ailmar, *quasi ab alite de mari:* but the chough is no sea-fowl. The reason of which bearing may be perhaps conjectured from the relation some of the family, they say, bore to a Duke of Cornwall; from whence, for their crest, they bear on a ducal coronet a Cornish chough's head and neck, wings displayed. He received his first breath in the county of Norfolk, about the year 1521. For in 1581 I read him in one of his letters calling himself *homo sexagenarius*, i. e. "a man of threescore years of age." Born, according to Dr. Fuller, at Aylmer Hall, in the parish of Tilsley, as he saith the Bishop's nearest relation informed him; mistaken, I suppose, for Tilney in the same county; for as for Tilsley, there is scarce such a town in England. In the neighbouring county of Suffolk, within four miles of Ipswich, there is a very fair house called Claidon Hall, now, or late, in the possession of the Aylmers. His elder brother was Sir Robert Aylmer, of Aylmer Hall aforesaid, whose ancestor was High Sheriff of that county of Norfolk in the time of Edward II.

Sir Robert Aylmer.

His education.

Aylmer, though he took his degrees of divinity in Oxford, had his first education at Cambridge; but when admitted, and under what tutor, and in what society, I am to learn: whether in Bene't or Gonvil hall, where the Norfolk youth commonly studied, or Trinity hall, entered there by the fame that Bilney, formerly of that house, bore, who much conversed and carried a great stroke among the people of Norfolk. But these things are uncertain. Grey, Marquis of Dorset, (afterwards Duke of Suffolk,) took a liking to him from a child going to school, and entertained him as his scholar, and exhibited to him when transplanted to the University. After he had attained some competent knowledge in University learning, and taken, I presume, his de-

grees, the Marquis took him into his family, and made him tutor to his children; one whereof was the Lady Jane, that afterwards wore a crown: who, as she was a lady of excellent parts, so by his instruction she attained to a degree above her sex in the knowledge of Latin and Greek; so that she read, and that with ease and delight, Plato and Demosthenes, and wrote excellently well. And he bred her up in piety as well as learning, being very devout to God, and a serious embracer of evangelical doctrine purged from the superstitions of Rome.

Tutor to the Lady Jane Grey.

To what perfection she attained in Greek by Aylmer's instruction, and what an happy guide he was to her in good literature, appeared in part by a discourse that happened in King Edward's days between this noble Lady and Roger Ascham, who was schoolmaster to another great Lady, (and afterwards Queen too,) *viz.* the Lady Elizabeth: and I will give it in Ascham's own words. "Before I went into Ger-
"many" [being Secretary to the embassy thither, Sir Richard Morison Ambassador] "I came to Broadgate in Lei-
"cestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane
"Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholden. Her
"parents, the Duke and the Duchess, with all the houshold,
"gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park.
"I found her in her chamber, reading Phædon Platonis in
"Greek, and that with as much delight, as some gentlemen
"would read a merry tale in Boccace. After salutation and
"duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, why she
"would leese such pastime in the park. Smiling she an-
"swered me, 'I wisse, al their sport in the park is but a
"shadow to that plesure that I find in Plato. Alas! good
"folk, they never felt what true plesure meant.' 'And
"how came you, madam,' quoth I, 'to this deep know-
"ledge of plesure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it,
"seeing not many women, but very few men, have attained
"thereunto?' 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a
"troth, which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the
"greatest benefits that ever God gave me is, that he sent
"me so sharp and severe parents and so gentle a school-

Her proficiency under him.

Schoolmast. fol. 11. b.

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" master: for when I am in presence either of father or " mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, " eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, " or doing any thing else, I must do it as it were in such " weight, mesure and number, even so perfectly as God " made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so " cruelly threatned, yea presently sometimes with pinches, " nipps, and bobbs, and other ways, (which I will not name " for the honour I bear them,) so without mesure misor- " dered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that " I must go to Mr. Aylmer, who teacheth me so gently, " so plesantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that " I think all the time nothing whiles I am with him. And " when I am called from him, I fall on weeping, because " whatsoever I do else but learning, is full of grief, trouble, " fear, and wholly misliking to me. And thus my book " hath been so much my plesure, and bringeth daily to me " more plesure and more, that in respect of it, al other " plesures in very deed be but trifles and troubles unto " me.' "

While Ascham afterwards thought on this admirable Lady, and of the employment he found her in, in her chamber reading of Plato, he brake out into these words;

Epist. Ascham. Clariss. D. Joannæ Grayæ.

Ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Θεοὶ! *divinam virginem, divinum divini Platonis Phædonem Græce sedulo perlegentem: hac parte felicior es judicanda, quàm quod* πατρόθεν μητρόθεντε *ex regibus reginisque genus tuum deducis:* i. e. " O good God! a di- " vine maid diligently reading in Greek the divine Phædo " of divine Plato: in this respect you are to be reckoned " happier, than that both by father and mother you derive " your stock from kings and queens." And upon the same account our Aylmer, whose scholar she was, he thus congratulates, (turning his speech to him, and then to her:) *O Elmarum meum felicissimum, cui talis contigit discipula, et te multo feliciorem, quæ eum præceptorem nacta es: utrique certe et tibi quæ discis, et illi qui docet, et gratulor, et gaudeo:* i. e. "O my most fortunate Aylmer, to whose lot " it falls to have such a scholar; and you, madam, more

" fortunate in such a master: all joy to you both; you " the learner of such a master, and him the teacher of such " a scholar."

Aylmer's character when young.

Of Aylmer's residence with the beforesaid nobleman we have some account in an old book, entitled, The Jewel of Joy, written by Thomas Becon, in King Edward's reign. That author being an old friend and professor of the Gospel, and on that account in danger of his life under King Henry VIII. resolved, for his safety in the latter end of that King's reign, to conceal himself, by travelling from these parts northwards: and coming into Leicestershire, where the Marquis of Dorset's seat was, he met with Mr. Aylmer, then a young man, that nobleman's domestic, of whom he was kindly received; and in the said book gave him this character, " that he was excellently well learned " both in Latin and Greek;" and added, " that with him " alone in that county he had familiarity." There being, it is probable, not one else that he dared to trust, for fear lest he might be betrayed by them. Becon called him *his countryman;* and Becon was of Norfolk.

Jewel of joy.

Reckoned among the best and politest wits.

Aylmer now in his younger days plied his studies, reading Greek, and other polite authors; so that he was reckoned amongst the number of the best scholars and finest wits of those times, such as Cheke, Haddon, Smith, Ascham, and others. Whereof Ascham and Aylmer, being both often at the Court, and in the same way employed, and equally addicted to good literature, contracted a great acquaintance. And in a letter the former wrote from Ausburgh, in the forementioned embassy, he took affectionate notice of his friend Aylmer; and among other matters he begged two things of him: the one was, that by his persuasion the Lady Jane would write him a Greek letter, as soon as she could, which was no more than she had promised him; and so he had told Johannes Sturmius, the learned Professor, his friend at Strasburgh. He prayed Aylmer also to move her to write another Greek epistle to that excellent person; and that it would not repent her of her pains [being likely to receive back again from him some learned answer]. The

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other request, or rather exhortation, was, that they both should persist and continue that their present course of life, of reading and studying. "How free," said he, "how "sweet, how like philosophers then should we live! What "should hinder then, dear friend, but that we might enjoy "all those good things which Cicero, in the conclusion of "his third book *De Finibus*, attributed to this way of living? "Nothing would occur to us in both the languages, nor in "all records of time past and present, but we should gather "thence matter to render our life sweet and pleasant."

Studies divinity.

But Aylmer did not only follow the studies of humanity, but of divinity also, and devoted himself to the service of Christ in the Gospel. And having the countenance once of the Duke of Suffolk, his lord, under King Edward, and after of the Earl of Huntingdon, (both whose places were in Leicestershire,) he was the only preacher in that county for some time. And by his and that Earl's means that shire was converted, and brought to that state wherein it was in the latter end of King Edward, and in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth; which in true religion was above any other place in this regard, that they retained the Gospel without contention; which few other places did.

Becomes Archdeacon of Stow.

The first preferment I find him possessed of was the Archdeaconry of Stow, in the diocese of Lincoln, which he obtained in the beginning of the year 1553, succeeding Dr. Draicot, lately deceased. This dignity qualified him to be of the Convocation, which happened the first year of Queen Mary, wherein when he saw the Clergy to run strongly towards Popery, in compliance with the Queen, he, with five more, (though with an hundred halberds about his ears,) boldly and bravely offered to dispute the controverted points in religion openly in that synod, against all the learned Papists in England; and learnedly argued out of Theodoret with one Moreman there, against the doctrine of transubstantiation: which dispute is set down at large in Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments.

Flies abroad for his religion.

But for this confidence, grounded upon his love of truth and the Gospel, he underwent great danger, and was de-

prived of his archdeaconry. Under this reign, uneasy and unsafe for him and all others that conscientiously adhered to the reformed religion, he soon fled away into Germany, and with several others of the best rank, both divines and gentlemen, he resided at Strasburgh, and afterward at Zurich in Helvetia; and there in peace followed his studies, and heard the learned Dr. Peter Martyr's Lectures, not long before the King's Reader of Divinity in Oxford.

Instructs youth in his exile.

And while he was here he was not idle, but employed his talent of learning partly in the instruction of certain students and young gentlemen in good literature and religion. One of these was the son of Dannet, a worthy person, whom many years after, when he was Bishop of London, he called his *old scholar;* and by reason of his excellent abilities he recommended to the Lord Treasurer. By setting religion before this young Dannet in a true light, he brought him off, as from ignorance, so particularly from the superstitions wherein he had been bred: which he thus elegantly set forth in a letter to the foresaid noble person, when he sued in Dannet's behalf. "Give me leave to entreat your honourable favour for my son Onesimus, whom "I begat not in my bands, but in my banishment; fleeing "not from his master Philemon to Paul, but from Mise-"mon, the great Antichrist, to Christ."

Publisheth the Lady Jane's letter.

Some other things I find this learned confessor doing in his exile. Soon after the English fled from the Roman tyranny exercised in England, a learned and excellent letter of the Lady (late Queen) Jane, written to the apostate Harding, her father's chaplain, was printed in English in Strasburgh. This, I make little doubt, Aylmer, formerly her tutor, was the publisher of, and perhaps the bringer of it along with him from England. And when a few years after John Fox, who was now busy in collecting materials for his Martyrology, inquired of Aylmer what he had to communicate of that right illustrious Lady, he told him of that epistle, and of the publishing it in English; and that if he were minded to make any memorials of her, nothing could be worthier of his pen, nor redound more to

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that rare woman's praise, than that same letter: *Nam*, as he wrote back to Fox, *et pie et prudenter, fortasse etiam docte, scriptam dices;* i. e. "For you will say it was piously and "prudently writ, and perhaps learnedly too."

Assists Mr. Fox the martyrologist.

He was, while in these parts, a great fautor and forwarder of that godly laborious man in the works he was upon; particularly in two: 1. His edition of the History of the English Martyrs in Latin; and 2. Of Archbishop Cranmer's Vindication of his Book of the Sacrament, against Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, translated by the said Fox into Latin; which last however was never printed. And of Aylmer's great learning and accurate judgment such an high opinion had Fox, that he chose him of all other learned men in those parts then in exile; and sent to him, then at Zurich, his translation, making him alone the judge of it, and resolving according as he approved of it or disapproved, so the work should stand or fall: *Cujus* [solius] *censurâ hos ejus labores vel probari vel improbari vellet;* as Fox wrote to him. To which Aylmer modestly answered, "That in this he could not so much approve his coun-

Aylmer a severe critic.

"sel as embrace his love." Aylmer was indeed a severe critic; and so he confessed himself, and looked upon it as his fault. *Sum enim, ut verè de meipso dicam, ex eorum numero qui facilius reprehendunt, quàm emendant: ut minoris multò negotii est solvere quàm componere, et ut philosophis placet, destruere quàm exædificare:* i. e. "For to speak "truly of myself, I am of the number of them who do "more easily reprove than mend; as it is much less labour "to undo than to do, or, as the philosophers speak, to de-"stroy than to build up." But so correct, it seems, was Fox's work, that even this critic bestowed much commendation on it; nay, though, as he acknowledged himself, he had more accurately and nicely weighed and examined it, upon divers accounts; partly because they both were Englishmen, and coupled together in the same bond of religion, and so he was the more concerned that his countryman and fellow Protestant should not set forth a raw and undigested work; partly because he esteemed it a crime to

Int. Foxii MSS.

toy in a thing so serious with his friend, and with a Christian, or to give his approbation of that which he did believe others would dislike. "My mind therefore was," as he wrote to Fox, "in the commendation I gave of your pains, "or in that *encomiastic epistle*, as you were pleased to "style my letter, not so much to please you, as to speak "truth, and as I really thought of it. Although I confess "it the part of a friend, yea of a good man, rather to err "on this hand, to attribute a little more to virtue, than on "that, to detract one jot from true praise. But besides, I "know in part how your own disposition inclines you to "think meanly enough, yea perhaps more than enough, of "yourself, and of your performances. For as to you, my "friend, I had no fear you would begin to be puffed up with "other men's praises of you, especially in this course of "your studies; wherein whatsoever is by you taken in "hand, your purpose hath been to render an account not to "men, but to God. Take heed rather, lest by this excessive, not to say vicious, modesty, you be drawn off from "things that would be of great use to the whole Christian "state, and decline doing what you are well able to do, "and ought most willingly to set yourself about to do. "Compare your own doings with other men's, and see "whether you be not rather to be chidden for so much "modesty, than for any self-conceit. In this, saith Plutarch, lies no small fault, that they that can do best attempt least. But so are the dispositions of men, that "modesty and the dread of reproof goes with singular and "exquisite learning, confidence and rashness with ignorance "and unskilfulness. And hence we see it comes to pass, "that of the writers in all kinds of literature, the more are "and always have been unlearned than truly learned." And then turning his speech to Fox, "Believe me, my "friend, I do attribute very much to your merit, and earnestly pray to God, that he would daily increase those "gifts wherewith he hath enriched you, and to turn them "to his glory. And, lastly, I do again counsel you to dispatch that work which you have in your hands as soon as

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"you can, that we may enjoy those your excellent la-
"bours."

Aylmer at Zurich.

This was the dependence of this good and painful father Fox upon the wisdom and judgment of Aylmer; and thus friendly, learnedly, and Christianly did Aylmer excite, advise, and encourage Fox. And soon after, that is, in December 1557, Fox went over from Basil to Zurich, where Aylmer then was, to consult with him, and others his fellow exiles there, about his said works; Aylmer in a letter a little before assuring him how glad his coming would be, and promising him all the help and assistance he could. And these are some instances how this good man employed himself while he remained abroad.

Advises to invite Peter Martyr to read at Frankfort.

Nor must we be silent concerning the good service he intended for the English residing at Frankfort. For observing a considerable company of scholars and students placed there, who might hereafter in better times become ministers and preachers of true religion in England, he considered how useful it would be to have some very learned reader of divinity among them; and soon called to mind Peter Martyr, the late King's Professor at Oxford, who then was, I think, at Strasburgh: whereupon he advised Fox, who then was at Frankfort, and others of chief note there, to attempt to gain that learned man to come among them, and to take that office upon him; and for that end to propound some honourable salary to him. His counsel took place, and an earnest and respectful epistle was drawn up, signed by Fox and the rest of the best repute there, and sent to him: when Fox also wrote another more private letter of his own to him to the same effect, calling him therein *the Apostle to the English nation;* and signifying that the public letter, as it was signed by their subscriptions, so it was done *Elmeri nomine*, in Aylmer's name. But this took not effect.

He travels.

While Aylmer thus continued abroad in exile, he took the opportunity of improving himself by travel, visiting almost all the Universities of Italy and Germany; and had much conferences with many the best learned men. At last

he was stayed at Jene, an University erected by the Dukes of Saxony; and should, if he had not come away, have had the Hebrew lecture there which Snepphinus had, having been entertained there to read in that University both Greek and Latin, in the company, and with the good love and liking of those famous men, Flacius Illyricus, Victorius Strigellus, D. Snepphinus, (whom they termed *the other Luther*,) with divers others.

Prints a book against Knox at Strasburgh.

When Queen Mary was extinct, whose reign was deeply besmeared with blood, and her sister Elizabeth, a lady of other principles, succeeded to the crown, Aylmer with the rest of the exiles came home to their native country, with no little joy and thankfulness to God, to enjoy the quiet profession of that religion they had suffered for before, and endured the loss of all. But before he returned home he printed an English book at Strasburgh, called An Harborough for faithful Subjects; (an account whereof is given towards the conclusion of the book;) which he wrote upon a consultation, as it seems, holden among the exiles, the better to obtain the favour of the new Queen, and to take off any jealousy she might conceive of them and the religion they professed, by reason of an ill book a little before set forth by Knox, a Scotchman and fellow exile; who had asserted therein, that it was unlawful for women to reign, and forbid by God in his word. This doctrine was seasonably confuted by Aylmer, and learnedly. And for Queen Elizabeth, he gave her a great character, concluding that there would be all peace and prosperity under a Princess of such admirable parts and godly education.

Engaged in a dispute.

He was but newly come home, when he was appointed one of the eight to hold a disputation in Westminster, before many of the nobility and gentry, against the like number of the Popish Bishops: which if it had been fairly prosecuted, and not declined after one or two meetings by those Bishops, our learned man had shewn his great parts, and that he was not ignorant in all the three learned languages.

Whether upon his return he enjoyed his archdeaconry of

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Stow again, I cannot tell; but in the year 1562 he obtained a far better, namely, that of Lincoln, being valued in the King's books at one hundred and seventy-nine pounds nineteen shillings, whereas that of Stow was but twenty-four pounds odd money in the said books. In this archdeaconry he succeeded one Thomas Marshal, a Papist. This he got by the procurement of Secretary Cecil; to whom he was earnestly recommended by one Mr. Thomas Dannet, for whom the Secretary had a great esteem, both for his integrity and good deserts. And Dannet loved Aylmer as his brother. The remembrance of which kindness, and the ancient friendship between them, still kept such an impression upon him, that many years after, *viz.* anno 1581, he was very solicitous with the Lord Treasurer to prefer this Dannet's son to be a clerk of the Council; especially considering also his excellent abilities: using these words to the said Lord: "That it might please him to yield his favour to his "humble suit, that as by the means of his father [Mr. Tho-"mas Dannet] his Lordship was the worker of his first pre-"ferment, so now God might incline his heart, at his humble "request, to farther this his son to the office of the clerk-"ship of the Council. Wherein if his Lordship did not find "such sufficiency in the man as he would wish, then *in me* "*cudatur faba*," said he. "That no man knew him better "than he, [for this is he whom, as it is said before, he was "the instructor of in his youth,] both for his secrecy, his "learning, (most fit for such a place,) his honesty, since-"rity, and zeal in religion." Thus did his gratitude to the father carry him out in an endeavour to show kindness to the son. But to our present business.

Made Archdeacon of Lincoln.

Present at the Synod anno 1562.

And being Archdeacon, he was present at the famous Synod, anno 1562, when the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and the reformation of it from the abuses of Popery, were carefully treated of and settled: and I find his own subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles under the name of Johannes Ælmerus Archidiac. Lincoln. But when the bandying happened in the Lower House, for the abolishing or retaining of certain ceremonies, (as for the recep-

tion of the Sacrament kneeling; the use of the cross in Baptism, and of organs in the Church; the laying aside of the holy days, and the using only the surplice in the service,) Aylmer was absent, whether by chance or on purpose I know not; and so also was the Dean of Canterbury, Mullins Archdeacon of London, Cole of Essex, and divers others, to the number in all of twenty-seven with the proxies.

Writes to the Archbishop concerning old books at Lincoln.

This reverend man dwelt much at Lincoln, where he was Archdeacon; whence in the year 1567 he wrote a letter to Archbishop Parker, who had sent to him to make inquiry for ancient historical writings in that cathedral, or other libraries in those parts. Mr. Aylmer accordingly made search, but after all could give him no satisfaction in that point, the libraries thereabouts consisting chiefly of old schoolmen. But among his own books he found one written by one of the Archbishop's predecessors upon the Old Testament, which Aylmer promised to send up to him: in fine, expressing his joy, that God had chosen the chief Pastor of this church out of his native country, meaning Norfolk.

Sticks at Lincoln.

Here at Lincoln he stuck a long while, though he was often nominated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, his countryman and friend, as occasion served, to succeed to some vacant bishopric. But the Archbishop had enemies at the Court, that commonly thwarted what he recommended and advised. But that he remained yet *in statu quo* without higher preferment, many passed their conjectures. That party of men that did not much favour the Bishops, nor like the divine worship established by law, made his book against Knox one of the causes that he had so many back friends, that employed their interest against his rising; because perhaps they thought he had in that book too much advanced the power and authority of princes, which Knox had so lessened and disparaged. For to this, it seems, that expression tended, of one Norton, a Minister, in a letter to Dr. Whitgift, wrote anno 1572; where advising the said Whitgift to forbear answering Cartwright the Puritan's book, that Protestants might not give an entertainment to

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the enemies of religion, by falling into controversies among themselves; and as though Whitgift's secret intention by his writing in this quarrel was, to stand the fairer for preferment; to this, I say, tended that expression of his concerning Aylmer; (as though Whitgift should take example by him;) "Mr. Aylmer's unseasonable paradox to truth "hath hurt the Church, and yet not advanced his preferment so much as he hoped." But Whitgift, in his answer to Norton's letter, gave a better interpretation both of himself and Aylmer, and their intentions in what they wrote; saying, "That Mr. Aylmer's doctrine was neither "unseasonable, nor yet a paradox; but a common true received opinion, grounded on the express words of the Scripture, and received without doubt of all learned writers, "both old and new, and in most seasonable time taught, "men's minds and hearts being so far from due obedience, "and so inclinable to the contrary. And I am fully satisfied," added he, "concerning our Divine, that he had all "the advancement that he looked for; and that it was great "lack of charity to judge men to do that for advancement, "which they did of conscience and duty."

MSS. D. Guil. Petyt. Armig.

Justice of the Peace, and in the ecclesiastical commission.

However Mr. Aylmer lived in great reputation, and was one of the Queen's Justices of the Peace for the county, and one of her ecclesiastical Commissioners; being an active and bold man, as well as wise and learned.

His usefulness.

Here in short, as his office led him, he first purged the cathedral church of Lincoln, being at that time a nest of unclean birds; and next in the county, by preaching and executing the commission, he so prevailed, that not one recusant was left in the country at his coming away; and many years after it remained a diocese well settled in religion; as he mentioned himself in one of his letters to the Lord Treasurer.

BecomesDr. of Divinity.

And in the year 1573, having contented himself hitherto with the degree only of Master of Arts, he accumulated his degrees in divinity, being made Bachelor in Divinity and Doctor in Divinity in one day, in the University of Oxford.

The next year a book *De Disciplina* coming forth in Latin, which struck at the present ecclesiastical government, and aimed to overthrow the constitution of the Church of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury made choice of Dr. Aylmer, of all other divines, to take this book in hand, and confute it; and withal sent him the tract. But though he kept the book a good while by him, yet he refused to do it, writing back to the Archbishop, that he could not deal therein: which perhaps may be attributed to his discontent. But the Archbishop got it answered by another hand soon after. Grindal also, then Archbishop of York, reputed Aylmer the fittest for this work, but concluded that he would not take the pains; having other employments probably lying upon his hands.

Moved by the Archbishop to answer a book.

There had been for some time great question moved between our Archdeacon and the Bishop of Lincoln, concerning the exercise of the spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the Archdeaconry of Lincoln; about which they had been at law together, for asserting their distinct rights in the said jurisdiction. But in the year 1572 it came to an happy conclusion by the arbitration of Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, and Robert Bishop of Winton; both parties, for the sake of peace and concord, leaving their respective rights to be finally determined by those grave fathers' discretion; and promising during their lives to stand by their decision. Hereupon they ordered and decreed, that both the Bishop and Archdeacon should hold their courts weekly together jointly in some place in the cathedral of Lincoln, or in the city; and so hear and determine causes, receive and admit the proofs of wills, commit the administration of goods of such as died intestate, and exercise all other ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except collation to benefices, admissions and institutions of clerks presented to the benefices of the said archdeaconry; which only belonged to the Bishop and his Vicar General. They decided also, that the fees, profits, commodities, and emoluments resulting thence, should be divided between them; but that in the Bishop's triennial visitations, he should take to him-

A controversy between the Archdeacon and Bishop decided.

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self all the profits arising from the proving of wills, commissions, administration of goods of intestate persons deceased, for three months, that is, for one month before, and two months after such visitation begun; the Archdeacon moreover paying the Bishop thirty-three pounds per annum.

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He is preferred to the see of London. His cares in that function; chiefly about Papists. Visits his diocese. Preaches often.

Why neglected thus long.

AMONG the reasons why Aylmer all this while of the Queen's reign was not yet advanced to a bishopric, (for his learning, conduct, and great abilities deserved it,) one we may conclude to be, that in his book before mentioned he declaimed against the splendour and wealth of that order, and spake with some seeming spite against the civil authority of Bishops; which made many gather that he stood not well affected to the calling itself. But in truth he was no enemy to the calling, but to that domineering tyranny that had been exercised by Bishops under the Papal usurpation. However he used now and then to be twitted in the teeth for it long after. In the year 1569, when Grindal, Bishop of London, was to be removed to York, the Archbishop would fain have brought him in to succeed there, and recommended him in that behalf to the Earl of Leicester, the Queen's great favourite. But he thought the Queen would object against him for this preferment, as too great a step from an archdeaconry to one of the chiefest bishoprics in England. But when Aylmer's name was talked of at Court, the Archbishop took occasion to give the Secretary his judgment of him; namely, "that he would be very fit to "succeed in London, being a busy government, and so "much pestered with Papists, the Queen's mortal enemies;

The Archbishop's character of him.

" and he would prove a careful and active Bishop to watch " the sheep against them. In fine, he signified to him, that " he thought verily, that the Queen would have a good, " fast, earnest servitor of this man." All this took not effect, and Aylmer was waved for this turn, and Dr. Sandys, Bishop of Worcester, was translated to London.

Made Bishop of London.

But at last, in the year 1576, he was preferred to be Bishop of London, upon Sandys's removal from that see to York; who, in his farewell sermon at Paul's Cross, had these words concerning him; " My hope is, that the Lord " hath provided one of choice to be placed over you; a " man to undertake this great charge, so well enabled for " strength, courage, great wisdom, skill in government, " knowledge, as in many other things, so especially in the " heavenly mysteries of God, that I doubt not but my de- " parture shall turn very much to your advantage."

Sandys's farewell sermon.

Contest between Aylmer, now Bishop, and his predecessor.

Yet between these two reverend and grave Bishops happened some sharp difference, who before were very good friends, and had been fellow-exiles. For Aylmer, who succeeded Sandys in this see of London, required, as his due, the whole incomes and benefits of the bishopric for the last half-year, that is, from Michaelmas to Lady-day, though Sandys continued Bishop of London the best part of that time, namely, till Candlemas, before his remove to York. Both of them appealed to the Lord Treasurer. Aylmer shewed him, by a note in writing, the present commodities growing to the Archbishop of York upon his entrance: as, for the Lady-day rent 500*l.* his demeans 400*l.* a benevolence of his Clergy 800*l.* besides woods to the value of 3000*l.* And this, he said, was a true rate, and would be avowed by those that were privy to the estate of the see of York. Concluding hence that my Lord of York had no reason to detain any part of the revenues of London from the last Michaelmas, being so well left at York; and he coming so naked now to the see of London.

Paper Office.

Archbishop Sandys's plea.

The Archbishop, on the other hand, shewed the Treasurer, that the first sum mentioned was more by a great deal than in truth it was: and perhaps some part of the tenths

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would be required of him: that as for the benevolence of the Clergy, it would be two years before that would be received: that the Bishop of London had as much woods left in his diocese: and if he, the Archbishop, might sell his woods at once, as Aylmer seemed to insinuate, he might do the same with his. He urged also, that he had served in London until the beginning of February, as Bishop, and received the rents of the see, according to equity and law: that the sum of what he received was small, and in that time he spent 1000*l.* and upward; the present Bishop of London having been at no cost, neither serving the bishopric: and that he received of the Queen's gift 397*l.* enjoying likewise the revenues of his other livings to that time. He added, that there was no example that he should make any restitution of what he had received to his successor; neither Bishop Yong, nor the late Bishop Grindal his predecessor, having been so dealt withal, but enjoyed all that they had received. And therefore he proceeded to charge his successor with ingratitude; that so soon as he [the Archbishop] had holpen him on with his rochet, he was transformed, and shewed himself void of that temper he pretended before: and with envy, in that by the note beforementioned of the Archbishop's revenues, he laboured to hinder the Queen from shewing him further favour; and setting forth the commodities of the see of York for a *melius inquirendum*. And in fine concluded pretty severely upon the Bishop, charging him with "coloured covetousness, and an envious "heart covered with the coat of dissimulation;" words perhaps wherein the Archbishop was too much led by his passion. How this business was compromised I cannot tell: but it may be observed what disagreements *meum* and *tuum* will create even among good men and brethren. But a greater and a longer difference (such is the frailty of men) happened between them upon the account of dilapidations, as we shall see afterwards.

The kindness of his predecessor.

The truth is, his predecessor Sandys was instrumental in his advancement to the see, recommending him to the Queen, as a very fit person to succeed him. When Aylmer

came up, he courteously entertained him at his house, and upon his desire assisted at his consecration; and when he departed to York, left several things in the houses belonging to the bishopric for his use and benefit: which kindnesses so obliged the new Bishop, that as he promised the Archbishop, a little before his consecration, that he would never demand any thing for dilapidations; so a little after, that he would be contented to take 100*l.* in full satisfaction for them. But notwithstanding these friendly beginnings, the process was more tragical, and to be lamented.

His election to London was confirmed March 22, 1576, in Bow church, before Thomas Yale, LL. D. the Archbishop of Canterbury's Vicar General; and one Lane, his Proctor, took the oath in the Bishop elect's name. On Sunday following, March 24, he was consecrated in Lambeth chapel by the Archbishop, assisted by Edwin Archbishop of York, and John Bishop of Rochester; George Row and Thomas Blage, Chaplains to the Archbishop, and others being present.

His confirmation and consecration.

The Bishop soon after caused a view to be taken of the dilapidations of the bishopric; which stood thus. The reparation of the palace of London amounted to 509*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* of St. Paul's church, 309*l.* of Fulham, 159*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* of Hadham, 147*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* of Wickham, 46*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* of Dunmow, Wickham, Fering, Cressing, [chancels of those churches, as appears in another paper,] 34*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* For all which his predecessor must ere long be called to account.

Dilapidations.

The reverend man was well aware into what a ticklish station he was entering, and what back-friends he was like to meet with in the conscientious discharge of his duty: and therefore when he made his address to the Queen, to pay her his duty, and to receive her commands, among other things, he requested of her, that in case any hereafter might accuse him of any misdemeanour, she would suspend her belief until he were first heard, and that she would permit him to be brought unto his answer. And this she promised him graciously.

His request to the Queen.

CHAP. II.

His primary visitation.

The Bishop began his primary visitation in London, December 17, 1577, when subscription was urged; and as many did subscribe, so some refused; who called the subscribers dissemblers for their simple subscription: nay, and very uncharitably compared them to Arians, Priscillians, Anabaptists, and such like. And not only so, but they flouted and mocked them; as Earl, one of these subscribing Ministers, in a journal of his yet extant, records it. "Where-as," writes he, "all that we say to them is, that we are "sorry for them, but cannot help them."

In Biblioth. D. Johan. Ep. Norvic.

At this visitation the Bishop discovered (and perhaps among the Clergy) a Mass-Priest, a conjurer, and a seminary reconciler: of whom we shall hear by and by.

His expenses.

The expenses of his first year, what with first-fruits and divers other necessary disbursements, were such, as he could not spend above 500*l.* that year, and scarcely that: however, he came rich and well to pass to the bishopric.

Preaches frequently.

He preached very frequently in his cathedral church; and had a notable art of winning the ears and attention of his auditors. As once when he perceived those about him not so attentive as they ought to have been to what he was teaching, he presently fell to reading the Hebrew Bible: which he did so long, that all his drowsy auditors gazed at him, as amazed that he should entertain them so unprofitably, in such unknown language. But when he perceived them all thoroughly awake and very attentive, then he went on with his sermon, after he had given them this grave reprimand; how it reflected upon their wisdom, that in matters of mere novelty, and when they understood not a word, they should be wakeful, and listen so heedfully, but in the mean time to be ready to fall asleep, and give so little attention and regard, while he was preaching to them the weighty matters that concerned their everlasting salvation.

At another solemn audience in the Parliament time at Paul's Cross, where were present a great many noblemen and persons of quality, that he might speak aptly to them, and excite them to evangelical virtue and true religion, and a serious regard of piety, he set before them the pattern of

Sir Thomas More, sometime Privy Counsellor to King Henry VIII. and Lord High Chancellor of England; "a "man for his zeal to be honoured," said the Bishop, "though "for his religion to be abhorred:" shewing them, how he would divers times put on a surplice, and help the Priest in his proper person to say service. Insomuch that on a time at Chelsea the Duke of Norfolk came to him, being then Lord Chancellor, about some special affairs, and being informed that he was at church went thither. In the end of the service the Duke and Sir Thomas met, and after salutations, the Duke said, "What! my Lord Chancellor "become a parish clerk? What will the King's Majesty say "to this jeer, when he shall understand that his Lord Chan- "cellor of England, a special person of the realm, and in the "highest room of honour in the land next the Prince, is be- "come a parish clerk?" To which Sir Thomas replied, "that "he thought and verily believed, that his Highness would be "so far from misdeeming or misliking him herein, that on the "contrary, when he should hear of the care which he had "to serve both his Master and mine," said he, "he will the "rather take me for a faithful servant." This passage the Bishop applied to the present occasion, that when the Parliament were sitting and consulting about the national affairs, their first care should be to serve God themselves, and have a regard to his honour.

His main endeavour.

As soon as he entered upon his episcopal function, he made it his main business to preserve the Church in the state in which it was established by the laws of the land, in respect both of the doctrine and discipline of it; and therefore thought it his duty to restrain both Papist and Puritan; both which laboured to overthrow the constitution of religion, as it was purged and reformed in the beginning of the Protestant reign of Queen Elizabeth. But this he found a very hard task for him to do; and which created him much trouble and sorrow, and raised him up not a few enemies, as we shall see hereafter.

His first ordination.

Another of his cares was for the supplying the Church with Ministers, that might be persons of learning and ho-

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nesty, and bred in the Universities, who being dispersed about the nation, might preach, and teach the ignorant people; for of this sort was a great want still. For many of the old Incumbents and Curates were such as were fitter to sport with the timbrel and pipe, than to take in their hands the book of the Lord, as the preacher at the Bishop's first ordination expressed it. A great number of these cattle were lately deprived, as they deserved; and so the more churches left destitute. Therefore on Ascension-day, May 16th, in the year 1577, was a great ordination of Ministers at Fulham by this Bishop; and was his first ordination; when he appointed one Keltridg, formerly of Trinity College in Cambridge, a notable preacher, to make a sermon upon the occasion: which he did from 1 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 3. *It is a true saying, If a man desire the office of Bishop, he desireth a good work. A Bishop therefore must be unreprovable*, &c. This sermon he afterward printed, and dedicated unto the Bishop. In it he addressed himself to his Lordship against the vicious old Popish Clergy, yet in the Church, but undermining it, "humbly craving of his "Honour, whom God in his eternal counsel had placed "over them, the Levites, to rub and raze out all the stock "of Jezebel, to pluck up and deface them, who had no "title to the true priesthood, to rid the kingdom of those "headless fellows, who having of a long time served Peor, "and offered up the first-fruits of their youth to Acheron, "were then compelled to lie grovelling in the Church of "God, and in the darkness wherein they had loitered, and "choaked up the people with chaff and superstition," &c. And those that were then ordained he exhorted, "That for "supply of preaching in the kingdom, they would scatter "themselves through every angle and quarter of this realm "in several congregations, that all countries might hear "their voice, and every part thereof might glorify the "Lord. And moreover he desired them, nay, charged "them in the Lord Christ, that they would not be of di-"vers minds, but that they would teach one God, and one "Christ, whom he had sent; sowing abroad no new and

" fantastical opinions, nor scattering devilish and old here-
" sies, nor inventing strange and fond novelties, thrusting
" upon the silly souls innovations and fables, which apper-
" tained not to edification, brought in at that time by the
" schismatics of the times, and then troubling the common-
" wealth." These admonitions did the grave Bishop think fit should be given these young Clergymen; that they might not add to the number of those that now were in the Church, but troubled the peace of it. At this ordination were sixteen made Deacons, and ten Priests, after due examination of them by William Lane and William Cotton, his Chaplains. These Achans, of what persuasion soever they were, he thought himself bound to discover and set himself against.

Discovers a Popish Priest.

In this year 1577 he discovered a Popish Priest named Meredith, and had him in hold: who came over from beyond sea in the year 1576, and conversed much in Lancashire and Nottinghamshire, and resided chiefly in one Allen's house, brother to Dr. Allen, then in the college of Doway, (afterwards the Cardinal of that name, and a pensioner of the King of Spain.) The Bishop discovered concerning this Priest, that he carried about him a book of common resolutions to certain questions, which Papists here in England might propound to him in cases of conscience; it is probable about dispensing with their obedience and allegiance to the Queen, coming to church, and the like to these. In this book, which it seems the Bishop had seized, he extolled certain traitors that had suffered, and especially Felton, who set up the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth upon the door of St. Paul's in London, exciting her subjects to rebel against her. Him he called, *The glorious Felton;* and England he styled *Babylon.* Wherein the Bishop supposed he obliquely aimed at the greatest very pestilently, as he said, meaning the Queen, as though she were the whore of Babylon. Of this man therefore the Bishop informed the Lord Treasurer, holding him *a passing crafty fellow*, as he styled him. He refused to answer before him upon his oath: and would confess nothing con-

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cerning the state, but in point of religion he was very frank. "Whereby it appeared," said the Bishop to the said Lord, "if they might be touched as near for their religion as they "are for the state, they would look twice about them."

His apprehensions of Spain.

This blade carried divers trinkets about him; as a chalice, a patin of tin, a painted crucifix, to be in the mass-book at the time of their consecration, which they used to kiss at the Memento; a Portas daily used for Latin service. Whereby the Bishop gathered that he was a Priest, and had said mass all Lancashire over. He had also divers *Agnus Dei's*, a hallowed candle, beads, and other such like things. It should appear he had bestowed many, and these were the remainders. But he would name none, nor in anywise confess that he came from Rome. But the Bishop thought if he were shewn the rack, he would not be so close; for he seemed to be somewhat timorous. He was near the place where the Scotch Queen was detained prisoner, but denied he was there. Dr. Wylson, the Queen's Ambassador in the Low Countries, wrote to our Bishop, that there were ten Priests dispersed of late into corners of this land; whereof this might well be one. Upon this occasion he gave the Lord Treasurer to understand, that there was such another in the parts of Suffolk, named Green, who dealt with divers thereabouts by degrees of speeches of misliking the loose government; and told them at last how it would be hard to help those things without a conquest; the better to reconcile the English Papists to the King of Spain's designed attempts against England, and to assist him whensoever he should invade. And he signified to the said Lord, that by some that came before him and the ecclesiastical Commissioners, it appeared that there were conspiracies and dangerous attempts towards.

His advice to the Treasurer concerning Papists.

These intelligences this grave and wise Bishop, out of his care of religion and the state, gave to that great minister; and withal suggested freely his own advices: which were, that it was time to look about. "I speak to your Lord-"ship," said he, "as one chiefly careful for the state, and "to use more severity than hitherto hath been used; or

" else we shall smart for it. For as sure as God liveth they " look for an invasion, or else they would not fall away as " they do." For the Papistical sort, who before outwardly complied with the laws, did now withdraw from the Church, and refuse the oath of supremacy; and others not well grounded, upon Popish suggestions turned Papists. He suggested moreover to the same Lord, that in these dangerous times the heads of Papists which were obstinate (whom he called their *chief captains*) should be placed in close prison, as Sir Thomas Fitz-Herbert, Townley, and some others of that sort, who now had liberty, or were under an easy confinement only: men ready, if opportunity served, to give counsel and countenance. He signified that he liked not that Fecknam, late Abbot of Westminster, Watson, late Bishop of Lincoln, and Young, another active Popish dignitary under Queen Mary, should continue where they were, in London, in the Fleet or Marshalsea; where by their converse and advice they might instigate and do mischief; advising that they might be placed again as they had been before, with some three Bishops, as Winchester, Lincoln, Chichester, or Ely; and that for his part, he, if he were out of his first-fruits, could be content to have one of them.

Orders for Papists in prison.

About this time [*viz.* 1577 or 1578] orders came to the prison [of the Fleet as it seems] to keep under close restraint all the Papists, both knights and others. But they had the indulgence to dine and sup together; when they sat for whole hours, conferring with and encouraging each other. And upon pretence of the sickness of the wife of one of them, under colour of physicians, Papists were admitted to her, and she by private ways let them in to the rest; where they communicated their news and the counsels that were taken among them. And divers of such as were Protestants, servants and others in the house, were infected and turned by them. Of all this, secret information was given by certain unknown persons that were privy to these doings; whose letter to the Bishop it may not be amiss to set down.

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A secret letter to the Bishop concerning them.

"Right Reverend Father in God, these are most humbly to advertise you for discharge of our consciences, and "to desire your Lordship to see these abuses reformed, "which hereafter we mind to declare to your Lordship; "that whereas her Majesty by the direction of your Lordship and others, her Majesty's Commissioners in causes "ecclesiastical, have set down and appointed divers and "sundry good orders for the reformation of that idolatrous "sect of the Romanists, enemies unto her Majesty and her "realms, we thought it good to discharge our duties, and "to advertise your Lordship thereof.

"So it is, that of late time there came commandment to "separate and shut up as close prisoners all the Papists, "as well knights as others. At which time there was re-"quest made unto your Lordship by the deputy of this "house, (as we think but for saving of charges,) that the "said knights and men of worship should meet dinner and "supper, where they should use but table-talk. The which "liberty to some of them, in our opinions, is more than was "before the said restraint. For that now they stay there "sometimes two hours after their suppers. The reforma-"tion whereof we refer to your fatherly consideration.

"Also, we thought good to advertise your Lordship that "there are six prisoners, some of them gentlemen, whose "names are these: Mr. Farley, Mr. Thymbletharp, and his "brother, Mr. Thomson, Mr. Burchingshaw, and one Jen-"kin Williams: which six persons are thought to be by "the Papists infected and seduced since their coming hi-"ther. Of which two of them, named Burchinshaw and "Jenkin Williams, are appointed to attend upon the Pa-"pists, and sworn as though they were servants; and within "these six months did come to church: with whom we "desire that your Lordship of yourself will appoint some "godly man to confer severally in time, lest they become "arrogant.

"Also, we think good to signify unto your Lordship "some of their names, which have used to come to this "house to the Papists, and do yet resort to bring news.

" As one Dr. Fryer, a physician, who cometh and hath " come often under colour to see Mrs. Trugeon, who is " sick; which doctor is accounted a notable Papist: and " one Mr. Rocheford, an Irish gentleman of Gray's-Inn or " Lincoln's-Inn. Both which, with others whom we know " not, come now to Mrs. Trugeon, since this restraint, who " is at liberty, and one of the notablest Papists of all the " house. The which Mrs. Trugeon doth so lodge, as all " the hours of the night he may go into the garden, and " give intelligence to all the Papists in the house, at his " pleasure, of any news that is brought in.

" And lastly, there are certain officers in the house, as " the porter and the chamberlain, who are great with the " said Burchinshaw and Jenkin Williams, supposed Papists, " being all Welshmen, linked together, and leaning more " to the Papists than otherwise: which porter, as it is " supposed, is not yet sworn; for he saith that he will have " all the servants of the house sworn before he be sworn.

" Good my Lord, for God's sake, as secretly as your " Lordship may, see these abuses reformed, after such sort " as it may not any way be known that your Lordship hath " had any advice from any in this house, but rather by " some friend of your Lordship repairing to this house: as " it is most convenient for your Lordship to have both here " and in all other prisons about London. Wherein your " Lordship shall do God and her Majesty good service, dis- " charge your Lordship's duty, and satisfy our consciences. " And thus we commit your Lordship to the blessed keep- " ing of the Most Highest.

" By your Lordship's loving friends humbly
" to command, *Nameless*,
" Because we would be *Blameless*.

" It may please your Lordship to understand that the " Thymbletharps, Mr. Farly, and Mr. Thomson, have " been converted by Dr. Halsey and Trugeon."

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This was the letter of some well-affected to religion belonging to this prison, that, as secret soever as the Papists here were, had observed these their practices. Whence we may see what reason the Bishop and the rest of the ecclesiastical Commissioners had to look about them for the preventing the mischief of these creatures of the Pope; who even in the prison made it their business to propagate the treason for which they were committed. And the work was not very hard to do towards discontented persons laid up for debt and misdemeanours, as the Thymblethorps were; who were committed to the Fleet for endeavouring to cheat the Queen of the tenths of the Clergy of Norfolk, which they were appointed by the Bishop of the diocese receivers of, and to leave the debt upon the Bishop.

Thimblethorp.

The Bishop an enemy to Papists.

The Bishop of London was a real enemy to Popish error and superstition, and thought it greatly conducible to keep it out, now it was out. But he with many other good men were in continual fears of the re-entry of it, partly by the means of the neighbourhood of Scotland, where was a great faction of Papists; and partly by the Scotch Queen, prisoner in England, a pretender to the crown imperial of this realm, and a busy and zealous woman of the Guisian faction, bigoted Papists, and mortal haters of Queen Elizabeth. But it chanced about this time, that is, anno 1578, or thereabouts, the young King James of Scotland received the Protestant religion, and rejected the mass; forbidding upon certain penalties to be present at it. And together with this, news came that the said Queen of Scots was fallen very ill of a palsy; whose death alone in all human appearance could put an end to England's fears. And it was wished to be rather natural than violent. But still the Bishop knew that nothing could have a good issue without God; and therefore that he was at this *juncto* to be earnestly invoked. These things the Bishop communicated to his old fellow-exile John Fox: and especially that he might excite the devotion of that pious reverend man, who was esteemed in his time a man powerful in prayer with God; and sent for this purpose a letter to him to this tenor:

Sal. in Christo. Accepimus Reginam Scotorum paralysi graviter laborare, vel ad desperationem, et aliis nonnullis torqueri morbis. Rex ipse optimæ spei adolescens Parliamenti authoritate decrevit de una religione confirmanda, et Papisticà è finibus suis exterminanda. Ita ut quisque missam auditurus, primò moneatur, secundò bona ipsius fisco adjudicentur: si tertiò peccaverit, solum vertere cogatur. Hæc ad te scripsi, tum ut hujus boni participem faciam; tum ut à te preces cum lacrymis Christo nostro fundantur, et nos beare, et suum Evangelium propagare pergat. Quæ concedat optimus Jesus noster, quem non minus tibi familiarem existimo, quam est amicus quisque amico. Ora, ora, mi frater; nam plurimum apud Christum tuas valere preces non dubito.

Writes to John Fox. Inter Foxii Epist. MSS.

Tui amantissimus

JOHANNES LOND.

His care about the plague in London.

In this year 1578, the infection of the plague spreading in London, our thoughtful Bishop took care of two things, *viz.* to preserve the lives of his Clergy, and yet to make provision that the infected might be visited, and have spirituals administered to them. Therefore he summoned the city Clergy before him, (where also were present, as assistants, Nowell, Dean of Paul's; Mullins and Walker, Archdeacons; and Stanhop, Chancellor,) to elect and appoint out of them visitors of the sick folk; and all the rest to be spared by reason of the danger of the infection. The forwardness of many Ministers to undertake this office was noted; some for covetousness, and others for vain-glory, and others to supply their wants, namely, such as were in great debt, and others without service and employment. But the Ministers generally disliked this motion; thinking it a part of their duties to suffer with their flock, and to submit to God's will in the discharge of their functions.

The Bishop shewed by this, his fatherly care of the city; and also his policy for ceasing of the plague, by dispersing directions in books printed for that purpose.

Several occasions fell out for Bishop Aylmer to exert his

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care for religion against the dangerous Romanists and their emissaries, who were very active in these days by all ways and means to reestablish themselves, and to overthrow the present constitution, and the Queen, who had taken upon her to be the supreme guardian of it. One Carter a printer had divers times been put in prison for printing of lewd pamphlets, Popish and others, against the government. The Bishop by his diligence had found his press in the year 1579; and some appointed by him to search his house, among other Papistical books, found one written in French, entitled, The Innocency of the Scotch Queen; who then was a prisoner for laying claim to the crown of England, and endeavouring to raise a rebellion. A very dangerous book this was: the author called her *the heir apparent of this crown:* inveighed against the late execution of the Duke of Norfolk, though he were executed for high treason: defended the rebellion in the north anno 1569: and made very base and false reflections upon two of the Queen's chiefest ministers of state, *viz.* the Lord Treasurer, and the late Lord Keeper, Bacon. The Bishop had committed this fellow to the Gate-house; but he desired the Lord Treasure at his leisure to call him before him, and examine him, having denied to answer upon oath to the Bishop: and promised that he would also send to him the Warden of the Company of Stationers, who would inform him of another book which was abroad, wherein her Majesty was touched; and of certain other new forms of letters which Carter had made, but would not confess them.

Discovers Carter, a Popish printer.

Another Popish gentleman there was about these times, named Thomas Pond, sometime a courtier, that had lain in prison (that of the Marshalsea I suppose) for some years: him the Bishop thought convenient now to remove from London unto another prison more remote, namely, his castle at Bishop's Stortford, to prevent his infecting others by his talk; for some such information, and what a dangerous person he was, was brought to the Bishop by Trip and Crowley, two Ministers who went to confer with him. He talked notably with them; and observing them to insist

Removes Pond to his prison at Stortford.

much upon Scripture, he warily required them to lay down some sure principle for both parties to proceed upon; and that was this, Whether the private spirit of particular men, or the public spirit of the universal Church, ought to judge of the sense of the Scriptures? For he, when he heard them frequently quoting places of Scripture, affirmed, that we must not run in these controversies to the only letter of Scripture, understood according to every private man's pleasure, but to the most certain judgment of the universal, at the least the most ancient, Church, which being governed by the Spirit of God, propounded the truth and genuine sense of Scripture. He also then proposed to them (though he were a layman, and not deeply versed in divinity) six firm reasons, as he thought, of his opinion, and required those Ministers to answer them; and that afterwards he might have liberty to confute their answers either by speech or writing. Upon this relation given of Pond by the Ministers, the Bishop thought fit to remove him to the aforesaid castle, being, as the Popish writers say, much provoked and angry. And they describe it to be an obscure and melancholy place, void of both light and converse. CHAP. II.

CHAP. III.

His farther dealings with Papists. Campion's book.

NOR was the Bishop's endeavour only to discover and attack books of this poisonous nature, but to arm people against the doctrines and principles contained in them, by providing substantial answers to them. One Edmund Campion, formerly a scholar of Oxford, now a revolter from religion and his country, had entered himself into the society of the Jesuits. And about the year 1581 he set forth a book consisting of ten reasons, written in a terse, elegant, Latin style, and dedicated to the Scholars of both Universi- Campion's book.

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ties, in vindication of what he had done in returning to Rome, and exhortatory to them to follow him, slandering the Protestant religion with false and unworthy imputations. Care was taken privily to disperse this book in the Universities; which gave disturbance to the government. The Lord Treasurer Burghley thought it needful to have a good answer timely set forth, to prevent the mischief it might do; and reckoned Bishop Aylmer very fit for such an undertaking; in one particular respect especially, namely, for certain blots and disparagements cast upon the first reformers of religion, and restorers of it from Popery; in whose times the Bishop lived, and with some of them, and their doings, was well acquainted. The Bishop had heard of the book, and had sent to Oxford, and searched other places for it, but could not meet with it, so secret it was kept; which was partly his excuse for not answering it. He had also at this time an ague, which was fallen down so sore in his leg that he was not able to study without great danger: but notwithstanding he let the Treasurer know, if he could get the book, he would do what his health would permit; adding, that as to what he wrote touching those first worthy and learned men, he guessed that the things wherewith he reproached them, were nothing else but such railing collections as were gathered against them by the apostate Staphilus, which for the most part were not to be found in their works. And moreover, as to the reproaches the Jesuits cast upon these reverend fathers of the Reformation, he knew there were divers *nævi* in them, as lightly be in all men's writings: as some things were spoken by Luther hyperbolically, and some by Calvin; as in the doctrine of the Sacrament, which he afterwards corrected, and in predestination. This Jesuit, the Bishop subjoined, and Staphilus, might herein soon be answered, if they would but look in the end of the Master of the Sentences, where they should find under the title of *Errorum Parisiis Condemnatorum*, that their own Peter Lumbard, Thomas Aquinas, Gratian among the Schoolmen, and Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Hierome, and others among the Fathers, to be condemned.

The Bishop wished to answer it.

His judgment of Protestant writers.

yea, *errasse contra fidem*, "to have erred against the "faith," as he termeth it. And yet the rest of their doctrine was holden for Catholic; and not the whole Catholic doctrine condemned for a few of their *nævi*. A precious stone, said he, may be found in a dunghill, and in the fairest visage some little wart. He proceeded to give his advice to the Lord Treasurer, whom he saw much concerned for the honour of the Protestant religion so struck at and defamed by this book, that it were not amiss that a letter might be sent from the Lords of the Council to the Archbishop of Canterbury, or to him, (the Bishop of London,) to enjoin the Deans, Archdeacons, and Doctors, to make some collections for these matters: for that such as had not great dealings in the Church, to take up their time, (as they had not, yea, and some Bishops also,) might, having that leisure, help well, as he said, to this building. Wherefore else, added he, have they their livings? And as for the number of books, he thought such a good quantity might be printed, as should serve for that purpose.

His advice to the Treasurer.

He gave in also to the Lord Burghley a particular schedule of the names of those he judged fit for this undertaking; which he divided into two ranks; some to find materials, others to build the house; some to make proper collections, others to write and compile the book from those collections.

Persons by him nominated for answering the Popish book.

The collectors to be these: the Deans of Paul's, Winton, York, Christ Church, Windsor, Sarum, Ely, Worcester, Canterbury. The Archdeacons of Canterbury, London, Middlesex, Essex, (Dr. Walker,) Lincoln, Coventry, (Dr. James,) Sudbury, (Dr. Styl.)

The writers to be, Dr. Fulke, Dr. Goade, Dr. Some.

Great pity it is, that this noble design of the Bishop's laying down was not pursued, and brought to perfection: whereby a good history of the reformation of religion, and of the doctrines embraced, might have been substantially set forth, by such who lived in or near those times, for the doing justice to so glorious a work as that was. But per-

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haps it was not thought convenient that Campion's book should have so much honour done it, to be so solemnly answered. But yet it went not without answer, Mr. Whitaker, Professor of Divinity in Cambridge, and others doing it.

His reflections upon Campion's book.

But when the Treasurer had soon after sent the Bishop Campion's pamphlet, and desired him again, as his health would serve, to peruse it, and according to his discretion to set some about the work, this caused some farther thoughts in him concerning it *pro re nata;* which he thus imparted to the said Nobleman; that as for his collections of strange opinions and sayings of some of the Reformers set down in his chapter entitled *Paradoxa*, he thought (supposing the author truly alleged them) that none of our Church meant to defend Luther's *hyperbola*, or all things that had passed the pens of Calvin or Beza: for, *quisque suo sensu abundet.* That we read them as Austin read Cyprian, and as he would be read himself, that where he dissented from the canonical Scripture, he should not be allowed. Secondly, that if we should make such a malicious collection of their writers and Schoolmen, we should find other manner of things in them: *sed in nullius juravimus verba magistri;* i. e. "but that we had learned to "swear to the dictates of no master" but of Christ. Then he shewed what little credit was to be taken to his quotations of Scripture, when in the very first text that he cited, he used the Septuagint interpretation, utterly different from the truth of the original: that if he dealt so in all others, his credit would be but small: *Ex unguibus leonem.* Again, that there was a favourableness of interpretation due to writers and speakers; and if we should take every thing to the worst, and not interpret candidly, what should we say of Gregory Nazianzen, who saith, *Ita nos Deos fecit Christus, ut ille factus homo est;* with many such in Lactantius and others. He added, it was a property of a spider to gather the worst and leave the best: and that his Lordship should find his (Campion's) writings to be the arrogant

vanities of a Porphyrius or a Julian; who were base apostates from Christianity. And in fine, that were it not for the toil of his ecclesiastical Commission, he could gladly have occupied himself in searching out his vanities; but according as his health would serve, he would peruse the piece, and set some others a work. CHAP. III.

We have not done with Campion[a] yet. In September 1581, (Campion having been caught, and now in hold in the Tower,) the vapouring challenge which he had made of maintaining his doctrine by disputation with any Protestant whatsoever came into remembrance. Several of our Divines took him up: and, by the consent of some of the superior powers, there were several conferences had with him. But when the day was come allotted for these learned combats, the bruit thereof brought great numbers of people to hear. This gave a disgust to the Court, which thought it most convenient to have it privately managed, to prevent all noise, boastings, and misreports, which must fly abroad concerning it. The blame of this confluence was imputed to the Bishop, though he was of the same mind, and had advised the Lieutenant of the Tower of his misliking that so many were admitted. This he was fain by letter to signify to the Lord Treasurer in his own behalf, adding, that the Lieutenant's authority was not to be directed by him, (being an exempt jurisdiction perhaps,) but by her Majesty and the Lords: nay, and that for the ill opinion he had of any dispute at all, he sent to stay it: which was all that he could do. And whereas Mr. Whitacre had answered in Latin Campion's Ten Reasons, now some were very busy in translating the answer into English, in order to the publishing thereof. But neither did the Bishop like this, that the people's minds might not be heated with controversies; and therefore, if the copy came into his hands, he was resolved to stay it. The Bishop not for disputing.

The issue proved the matter as the Bishop feared: for the friends of the Jesuit boasted much; and among the rest The Papists boast.

[a] See Additions, Numb. I.

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one Cawood[b], perhaps son of the Popish printer of that name, who talked very liberally, extolling Campion's learning, and attributing the victory to him: and for his confident and slanderous reports was brought before the Bishop, who gave him the punishment of confinement in the Clink.

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His dealing with the Puritans. His advice concerning the University. His trouble about felling his woods.

Puritans.

THESE were some of our Bishop's dealings with Papists. He was also industrious for the checking of another sort of opposers of the Church established, chiefly its enemies in regard of the ecclesiastical regiment of it, which they thought to be Antichristian, because used in the Popish Church. These were now commonly known by the name of Puritans and Precisians; whom the Bishop had indeed little kindness for, and they as little for him. I proceed to shew what happened between him and them, and his opinion concerning the danger of them.

His opinion of some of them.

In the year 1577 he met with several persons of a contrary way to Papists; of whom he informed the Lord Treasurer, that in respect of their hindering unity and quietness they were not much less hurtful than they; namely, Chark, Chapman, Field, and Wilcox. These he had before him; the two former he had some hopes of; but the two latter shewed themselves obstinate, and especially Field; who, notwithstanding the Archbishop's inhibition, had entered into great houses, and taught, as he said, God knows what.

And advice concerning them.

His advice concerning these men was, that they might be profitably employed in Lancashire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, and such other like barbarous countries, to draw the people from Papism and gross ignorance: and that though they went a little too far, yet he supposed it would be less

[b] See Additions, Numb. II.

labour to draw them back, than now it was to hale them forward; and that some letters of friendly request might be sent thither for some contribution to be made by the towns and gentlemen for some competent stipend to relieve them. And he thought this might grow greatly to the profit of the Church; and therefore communicated this counsel to the Lord Treasurer, and prayed him at his leisure to think on it. Yet he declared that he said all this, not because he liked them, but because he would have his cure rid of them.

Imprisons a bookseller. Admonition to the Parliament.

Some years ago (about 1571 or 1572) came forth, in print, a book entitled, An Admonition to the Parliament; the main design whereof was to subvert the Church as it was then established in the public worship by the Book of Common Prayer, and in the government of it by Bishops and other ecclesiastical officers. This therefore gave the Queen great disgust; and the Churchmen found themselves obliged to give a full answer to the book; which was done by several, but especially Dr. Whitgift, afterwards Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of Canterbury successively: and a severe proclamation was issued out, anno 1573, for the better observation of the Common Prayer and orders of the Church, and for the suppressing of that book. But now, about November or December 1578, when the book was almost laid aside, a young stationer, named Thomas Woodcock, hoping to make a good gain by the adventure, vended several of these books; whereupon the Bishop of London committed him to Newgate. But his friends failed not to intercede with the Bishop for Woodcock's enlargement. To whom the Bishop answered, that he neither could nor would do any thing without the Lord Treasurer's consent, or by his letters or warrant. Which was looked upon as somewhat rigorous in him. Whereas indeed it was most true, that he could not of his own authority discharge a criminal he had committed without inflicting due punishment, unless it were by some order from above; especially such as dispersed or sold this Admonition, which depraved the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and so was interpreted to tend to make divisions and dissensions among

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the people; and to breed disputes against the common order. And therefore the Queen, in the aforesaid proclamation, commanded all printers and stationers, or others, who had any of these books in their possession, to bring the same forthwith to the Bishop of the diocese, or to some of her Majesty's Privy Council; and not to suffer any of them upon pain of imprisonment. The issue therefore was, that Woodcock, having lain about a week in Newgate, found such favour from those of his own company of stationers, that the chief of them, as Richard Tottyl, the Master, John Harrison and George Bishop, Wardens, and William Seres and John Day, directed their letter to the Lord Treasurer, soliciting him that he would either direct his warrant for the enlargement of this man, or else to signify his pleasure to the Bishop, to take order herein accordingly, the said person putting in sufficient bonds to appear at all times when he should be called, and ready to answer any matters that should be objected against him. And thus the Bishop by his watchfulness over this sort of men, and their books too, which spread their opinions, shewed how little he liked them.

One of the Clergy of Lincoln dedicates a book to him.

In this year 1578, one William Hopkinson, a Minister of Lincolnshire, and under the care of our Bishop when Archdeacon there, translated a Latin book of Beza in behalf of Calvin's doctrine concerning election, entitling it, An evident Display of Popish Practices, or patched Pelagianism: which the said Hopkinson printed, and dedicated to our Bishop, in acknowledgment of his former good and careful inspection of the Clergy of Lincoln, "and his zeal for the "Lord's family," as he expressed it; "which," he said, "he "himself eftsoons experienced to his great comfort, in the "time of his being within his jurisdiction. And being lately "come to the great charge of overseeing the diocese of "London, he prayed God to increase in him his many and "mighty blessings, and to multiply upon him the measure "of his grace; that as he had chosen him into the forefront "of his harvest, and given him among others the chiefest "and special charge over his field furnished with labourers;

" so he continually would make full the measures of his " own mercies in his heart, &c." This great esteem had the learned Clergy for him.

One Welden abuses the Bishop.

But the Bishop was as little liked of the Puritans. For as he roundly executed his office in reclaiming or suppressing them, they spared not to defame and shew their ill-will to him. Such a matter fell out in the year 1579: Cookham, a considerable parish in Berkshire, was destitute of a preacher; some Puritan minister belonging to that place having been, as it seems, suspended by the Commission. Hither the Bishop sent Mr. Keltridg, before mentioned, an able preacher, to supply that church. But one Welden, a person of some note in Cookham, hindered him, saying, that though the Bishop himself should come and sit with Keltridg in Cookham church, he should have a very warm seat, and he would make them both weary of their places. The Bishop upon this disturbance sent an attachment for him. But he told him, that he should answer that which he had done before his betters. He reported also, that if the Bishop had sent forth another attachment, he had proceeded so far with his Lordship's betters, that he should have had such an attachment for him, that none should have bailed him; and that he himself would have been his keeper. And when a pursuivant had served him with a letter, he said, the Bishop of London had now learned good manners. He said, moreover, what was he before but a private man? but he must be lorded, *And it please your Lordship* at every word; and that there was never Bishop so vilely esteemed as he was, and that he was as ill thought of as ever was Bonner. All this was proved by deposition; and the said Welden convict by the court, because he refused in a most contemptuous manner to answer: and for his great contempt he was in January committed by the rest of the Commissioners, without the Bishop, because it was his own cause. The Bishop was not a little moved to be so used in his discharge of the Queen's Commission; which made him think it convenient to let the Lord Treasurer know it, and to countenance their prosecution of this

Complains of it.

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man. He reminded him, how he and the Lord Chancellor had told him, that they were to countenance and back the Commissioners in the said Commission; which he humbly prayed his Lordship to do, or else he saw not how he might continue in that place; and that for his own part, if every man might thus rail at them for their faithful and painful service in the executing of her Majesty's Commission, it must needs make him weary. Finally, he hoped his Lordship would not suffer him to be so abused. This care and these discouragements soon made him earnestly desirous to change his see, as we shall hear hereafter.

A book against the Queen's marriage with Monsieur.

The Queen and her Court were now in September 1579 startled upon one or two occasions. The one was, the news of the breaking out of a rebellion in Ireland; and the other, the publishing of a book written by one Stubbs, a great Puritan, against the Queen's marriage with the Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother: for he being a Papist and a Frenchman, the English had an antipathy against him upon both accounts. Many expressions in the book tended to sedition, and gave high offence to the Queen; as though she herself were warping from religion by her entertainment of such an one. It made also very dishonourable reflections upon that Prince; which she feared France might well resent. The very title also was penned after that rude sort that it might justly offend; *viz.* The Discovery of a gaping Gulph, whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banns, by letting her Majesty see the Sin and Punishment thereof. In one place of this book he disparaged the person of this Prince, and by consequence the Queen's judgment in entertaining him. "I humbly beseech her Majesty "that she will view it, (his person,) and surview it; and in "viewing she will fetch her heart up to her eyes, and carry "her eyes down to her heart. And I beseech God grant "her at that time to have her eyes in her head; even in the "sense which Solomon placeth a wise man's eyes in his "head: and then, I doubt not, upon conference of her wise "heart and her eyes together, he shall have her dispatching

The Discovery of a gaping Gulph.

" answer." And then, as to this Prince's manners, thus he exposed them; (both his and his brother's, now King of France;) " They speak in all languages of a marvellous, " licentious, and dissolute youth passed by this brother- " hood; and of as strange incredible parts of intemperance " played by them, as those were of Heliogabalus. Yet I " will not rest upon conjecturals. For if but the fourth part " of the misrule bruited should be true, it must needs draw " such punishments from God, who for the most part pu- " nisheth these vile sins of the body, even in the body and " bones of the offender, besides other plagues to a third and " fourth generation; as I would my poor life might redeem " the joining of Queen Elizabeth to such an one in that near " knot, which must needs make her half in the punishment " of those sins." This bold book, therefore, and clamours of the people, (London being in a dangerous ferment,) especially those that were of the Puritan party, made a considerable shock at Court. It was therefore thought convenient to send a hasty despatch to London, to the Bishop there, and presently to summon the Clergy for the better pacifying these matters. And on a sudden, September 27, 1579, on Sunday, at one of the clock, the Clergy of the city were called unto the Bishop's palace; where forty of them appeared. Then the Bishop, the Dean of Paul's being present and assistant, told them the occasion of his sudden calling for them was, to admonish them of two things chiefly. The former was of one Andreas Jacobus, a Dutchman, and, as it seems, a Minister of the strangers' church in London; who was a Lutheran, or an ubiquitary, as they now styled them who were for the real presence; and had caused great quarrels among the strangers' preachers. He warned them to take heed how they gave ear to the sophistical arguments of him, or any such like. That this ubiquitarian controversy had caused great heats and differences among the Protestants of Germany, and that the Divines had a Diet at Smalcald on that occasion; and that God be thanked it was appeased, and all at quiet among them.

Occasions the Bishop suddenly to summon the London Clergy.

Andreas Jacobus.

The ubiquitarian controversy.

He proceeded to the other reason, (and which was the

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chief indeed,) why he called for them at that time; to wit, upon the account of Stubbs's book, and of the animosities that it had occasioned; for people were highly offended at Monsieur's being at Court, and perhaps he used his religion there. And many of the preachers themselves meddled in that argument, and in matters of state, in their pulpits, to the farther disturbing of the minds of the people. Therefore the Bishop first of all assured them with many good words of the Queen's steadiness in religion, wherein she was, he said, resolute and settled. Then, that they should not meddle with such high secular matters, nor intrude themselves into the Queen's affairs; but study peace and quietness, and to promote it in their several charges: that they should be constant, sober, prudent, and wise; and that they should do their endeavour in their places to bring in that dangerous book: for which purpose there was a proclamation issued forth. And both the author, printer, and disperser afterwards were discovered and severely punished. For which I refer the reader to the civil historian.

Admonishes his Clergy about the Queen.

The Ministers of London now often cited.

These disturbances about the Queen's marriage being chiefly moved by such as were enemies to the ecclesiastical constitutions, a straiter hand was this year held over them, and the Ministers of the city, for their due conformity to the orders of the Church. For besides this summons already mentioned, they were four times more called together by order from above to the Bishop, that there might a diligent inspection be made into their behaviour; and for the prescribing them several rules in their ministry.

Articles of inquiry.

The next citation then of the Ministers of London was November the 10th following, at St. Sepulchre's church; where also met many persons sworn to make inquisition upon certain articles to be given them; which articles were as follow: 1. For the true and faithful observation of the book of public prayers: 2. If any preachers meddled with matters of state in their public or private doctrine, or intermeddled with alterations of states and kingdoms: 3. If any used to preach not licensed thereunto; for that such who had not licences were not to preach: 4. To inquire after

private conventicles, preachers, and fasts: 5. If there were any alterations from the Book of Common Prayer; and to inquire who, and how many, gathered to private preaching: 6. To make diligent search after vagrant preachers and Popish priests.

Other articles, by virtue of the Council's letters.

Again, in January this same year, 1579, came forth articles to be ministered and inquired of by the parsons, vicars and curates, ministers and church-wardens, of every parish within the archdeaconry of London, according to a commandment sent from the Lords of the Queen's Majesty's Privy Council, by their letters bearing date January 17, 1579; *viz.*

I. Who is parson, vicar, curate, or minister of your parish, and whether he be resident upon his benefice, or no.

II. Whether the parson or vicar doth serve the cure of his parish himself, or who doth serve it for him.

III. Whether your parson or vicar doth say the divine service in the church, and minister the sacraments of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper in his own person, or who doth it for him.

IV. Whether the parson or vicar doth use weekly or monthly to preach or to read any lectures in their church, or in any other church or place; and where he doth use so to preach or read.

V. Whether any other minister or preacher doth use to preach or to read any lectures in their church; who they or he be, and set down their names, and where such preacher or reader is beneficed.

VI. Whether such minister or preacher, as useth to preach or to read any lecture in the church, doth use also to minister the sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in his church, or in any other church; and where he doth use to minister the same.

I am apt to conclude that these were articles of the Bishop's framing; but that he procured the Privy Council to own and send them as theirs, to give them the more strength and authority.

Orders for the Clergy.

For the better execution of the Council's letters, it was

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ordered the Clergy at this meeting after this manner, "That "from henceforth you do not admit any man to preach, or "to read any lectures in any of your churches, but such as "you do know; that do also in their own persons minister "the sacraments of Baptism and of the holy Communion, "according to the order prescribed in the Book of Common "Prayer.

"Ye shall make return of your answer to these articles "on this side the first day of March next coming, to Mr. "Good the registrar."

Another call of Ministers.

In pursuance of which articles, February 6th following, there was another call of the London Clergy by virtue of the Council's letters. Then there were again precepts given to mark the recusants of the Book of Common Prayer, or such as refused to administer the sacraments after that order, or that only preached, but had no celebration of the sacraments; putting that work upon their curates, or assigns, or that preached and used not the book, and so made a schism. The church-wardens were called and sworn to present all such.

Another.

Now on the first of March, the Clergy was summoned again, and met, according to the Council's letters before mentioned, in pursuance of the six articles. Thus close was the matter of conformity this year pursued; and that because of the dangerous schism that was now a breeding, and the apprehension of the great evils that must needs ensue upon that; while the Common Prayer was by some in part, and by others wholly, laid aside, and the sacraments of the Church disused, or shifted off to be performed by others that were hired or procured. All which considerations made both the Bishop and the Queen herself somewhat vigorous in the suppressing these men. And this quickening of the London Ministers in their obedience to the ecclesiastical laws went on the next year, as we shall see by and by.

His advice concerning the University.

About this time the University of Cambridge was run into Puritanism, and the Bishop was consulted with about it by the Lord Burghley, the Chancellor thereof. For when, in the beginning of March 1579, upon the motion of Dr.

Pern, Dean of Ely, and others, making complaint to the said Chancellor of the Puritans' disorderly preaching, and of the unsuitable apparel of the scholars, he was resolved to take some order for the redress of both, he sent the said Dean to the Bishop from him, for his opinion; which accordingly he gave in these particulars. 1. That all licences granted by the University should be called in, and granted anew by the Heads, to such as would subscribe to the articles synodical, as in all dioceses it was used; and that bonds should be taken of the parties that they should preach no innovation, as he himself used to do in granting his licences. 2. That the Heads of the houses might be enjoined by the Chancellor to see every man to his own company, that both at home and abroad they used scholars' apparel, according to their statutes; or else to crave the aid of the rest of the Heads to expel such stubborn persons out of the University, as would not submit themselves to that order. And this to be done by some injunction from her Majesty, to authorize the Heads in that behalf. And this he thought would be a good way for the redress of both offences; for, *Stultitia*, said he, *ligata in corde pueri virga disciplinæ fugatur;* and indeed the only way; for he thought no other way would do. These were the resolute counsels of a resolute man.

Licence for keeping hearses.

The Bishop about this time, or somewhat before, thought fit to grant somewhat an unusual licence to one Manwaring, which was to keep good order at the funerals of the nobility and gentry; when the rude people used to commit much outrage and disorder by defacing the hearses as they passed along the streets, and violently taking away the coats of arms and other ornaments; and to preserve the better decency at these solemnities; yet without intent of encroaching upon the office of heralds. And to this tenor ran the Bishop's faculty, which because somewhat extraordinary I set down.

"John, by the permission of God Bishop of London, "to all and singular to whom these presents shall appertain, "greeting. Whereas about the hearses of honourable and

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Elmeri Regist.

"worshipful men there groweth sundry discourse by embezzeling and stealing away the escutcheons of arms and other ornaments to funerals belonging; with such other rudeness and misdemeanor; we have upon good consideration hereunto moved, permitted and licensed Nicolas Manering, servant to the Right Honourable the Countess of Darby, to have the keeping of the said hearses within our diocese of London, for the avoiding of the said inconveniences and disorders; and this his licence to endure the natural life of the said Nicolas Manering, not abridging but aiding the heralds in their office. Yeoven under our hand and seal at Harnsey, September 25th, the 20th of the Queen.

"JOHN LONDON."

Commissions.

By a commission dated May 1579, he constituted Robert King, clerk, to exercise the office of Commissary *in partibus* within the archdeaconry of Essex and Colchester, and other places.

And about four years after, anno 1583, December 26th, he preferred a very remarkable man, (famous afterward for his faithful and able management of great places of trust pertaining to the civil law,) Julius, afterwards Sir Julius Cæsar, LL. D. to whom he gave the office of Commissary and Sequestrator General in the archdeaconry of Essex and Colchester, and the deanery of Braughing, Harlow, Dunmow, and other places.

Sir Julius Cæsar.

Troubled about felling his woods.

But now let me proceed to a matter that created the Bishop some passion and disturbance. He had made a good fall of his woods; and that in so large a proportion, and (as it was pretended) so unlawfully, that an information was brought to the Lord Treasurer and Council against him for it, as though he had made a great spoil of the timber and woods, and wasted the revenues of the bishopric. It was informed, that he had felled and sold three hundred timber trees at one time, and an hundred at another, and some more besides at another: also that a great number of acres of wood were sold at divers times, allowing to every acre

certain timber trees. Though this information was partly true, yet it had more of malice than truth in it. But the Bishop upon this was brought before the Council, where the said Treasurer in May 1579 openly blamed him; holding himself bound, as he said, so to do, as he was a public minister, and with all plainness and freedom telling him, that there was a Bishop once displaced for such a deed. These words gave the Bishop some uneasiness, and provoked him to some anger, holding himself unblamable for what he had done.

Writes to the Lord Treasurer about it.

Whereupon coming home he took up his pen, and in that heat that was upon him vented his grieved mind to the same noble Lord, telling him that they were but *indigested surmises* of his wasting the woods, giving (in a writing inclosed) to the particular articles of accusation particular answers; wherewith, as he shortly told him, if his Lordship should be satisfied, he should be glad; but if not, he would stand to the justification of his doings, both in that and in all other things. He added, that if he (the Lord Treasurer) thought his answers were either untrue, or not sufficient to satisfy him, he prayed him to call to him a gentleman, (well acquainted with the Bishop's doings,) and one whom his Lordship judged to be both upright and wise, and of great experience, and to inform himself by him; and if it fell not out that he (the Bishop) was not too careful a man of his woods, and that they were much the better for him, then let him lose his credit with her Majesty and all their Honours of the Council. But, in fine, these surmises against him he counted but light in comparison of his grief, as he expressed himself, that "my Lord Treasurer should have a "discontented mind toward the Bishop of London," whose friendship he valued above all; and therefore the seeming estrangement thereof could not but be very afflicting to him.

His defence of himself.

The sum of the paper above mentioned, wherein he endeavoured to clear himself by distinct answers to each objection against him, was this: That those trees which he had given order for the falling of were not timber trees, but pollards, doated and decayed at the top; nor was the num-

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ber of them so many as was informed. He acknowledged that in the years 1577, 1578, and 1579, he sold sixscore acres of wood by the arbitrement of the Lord Dyer and consent of the tenants, and allowed two lopped and doated trees to each acre; which he would justify to be an increase of wood: for that for which he had received 300*l.* at the next fall (the spring being kept) would be worth 500*l.* And that whereas it was informed, that the sales of these woods amounted to 1000*l.* he shewed they came but to 600*l.* And in the whole, he desired that it might be considered, that in these three years he had paid, and must, to the Queen, 1800*l.* besides his housekeeping, wherein he had threescore persons young and old; that he bought his fuel at Fulham wholly; and that at London and Harnsey he used coals, sparing wood, which came to sixscore pounds yearly: in the whole, in fuel eighteen score pounds. Moreover, the burning of his house (at Harnsey, if I mistake not) put him to 200 mark charges. And lastly, he was able to prove, that whereas 400 acres of wood were destroyed by his late predecessor, and threescore more in his time, the see was the better by 100*l.* a year.

Forbid to fell any more of his wood.

But, in short, this business of the wood still depended; for I find that about half a year after, the Queen sent her letters to the Bishop, and some others, to inquire into the felling of those woods; to which the Bishop, with the others, prepared their answer, and wanted only to know whether they should direct their letters to the Queen immediately, or to the Lord Treasurer, who might inform her Majesty concerning their answer: and for direction herein the Bishop craved the said Treasurer's advice. This ended at length with a restraint from her Majesty, that the Bishop hereafter should take down no more of his woods.

Endeavours a Commission for dilapidations.

Now also the business of dilapidations came on between our Bishop and the Archbishop of York, his predecessor; wherein also the Archbishop of Canterbury, predecessor to him of York, was involved. In the beginning of the year 1577 he had laboured to procure a Commission for that end, and made use of Secretary Walsingham therein. The

Archbishop made his complaint to the said Secretary against Bishop Aylmer's proceedings, shewing the many good turns he had done him; and withal the good promises the said Bishop had before his consecration made him, not to trouble him in this regard. He also sent up his servant from Bishopthorp, where he now was, to enter into reasonable conditions with Bishop Aylmer, with which he made Walsingham privy; who soon laboured with the Bishop in this affair to bring things to an accommodation. But it could not or would not be done; and the reason was, because it was not safe for him to put this suit to an end by arbitration; which Walsingham was willing to take upon him, and the Bishop declared himself to have been willing to leave it to him; but that for the security of his posterity it must be decided by law: which the Bishop signified in his letter written to him in May.

His letters to the Secretary.

Therein he signified, "That he found himself marvellously beholden to him for his good continuance and ready answers of his matters, that his man whom he sent unto him found at his hands. That the cause that moved him so earnestly to urge the commission for dilapidations was, that unless he had end by law, he and his executors could not be discharged; which he was sure, if her Majesty understood, she would grant him justice for his indemnity: otherwise he assured his Honour, he had as lief be without the bishopric, as to dwell still in that danger. That if it might be put in arbitrement, he minded to choose none but him, if he would give him [the Bishop] leave to be so bold with him."

Paper Office.

He sues the Archbishop.

Upon this they go to law. There is a book in the Paper Office consisting of divers sheets of paper written in Latin, as it seems, of the Bishop's own penning, wherein he argued his own case; and by his many quotations of the civil law shewed himself very well studied therein. It was entitled his Allegations, beginning thus:

Ad decisionem præsentis controversiæ præmittendum est, quod inter alia, quæ ad curam et solicitudinem providi et vigilantis pastoris pertinent, curare debent sacratissimi

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Episcopi, ut Ecclesias Cathedrales, aliaque ædificia ad Episcopatum spectantia, ab omni ruina et deformitate conservent, ut ruinosa reficiant, diruta et collapsa restaurent. Si enim in privatis ædificiis deformitas omnis vitanda est, ac Reipublicæ intersit, ne civitas ruinis deformetur, (ut C. de Ædificiis privatis L. ii. *et F. nequid in loco publico. L. ultima. et ex. de Elect. c. fundamenta* §. *digno: libro* vi.) *Multòque magis interest omnium, ut Ecclesiæ, quæ in honorem et cultum Dei Omnipotentis ac fidelium Christi consolationem; ubi Christi fideles divina audire, et Sacramenta percipere solent, ab omni deformitatis et ruinæ labe conserventur, ut notant doctores in c.* 1. *ex. de Ecclesiis ædificandis, &c.*

There is also in the same place another book in Latin, wherein he learnedly labours to confute the witnesses that the two Archbishop's defendants brought to prove the edifices were left in sufficient repair when they were translated. The conclusion of which paper ran thus: *Ex quibus omnibus manifestè patet, non esse,* [*invalidas*] *aut insufficientes Londinensis Episcopi probationes, sed debile et infirmum esse illud subterfugium in re tam manifesta, et omnium oculis objecta, probationes nostras tanquam minus concludentes arguere: cum tamen illi non probaverint se ea fecisse quæ facere debebant; et proinde eorum culpâ hæc contigisse præsumatur. Juxta L. qui non facit. F. de regulis juris.*

The charge of the dilapidations.

In the year 1580, a new review was appointed to be taken of the dilapidations, when they amounted to about 1602*l.* that is much more than they were when the first view was taken, anno 1577; the charge being then but 1200*l.* The suit held till 1584, when our Bishop obtained a favourable sentence: and then the Archbishop of York's last plea was to get the sentence qualified, and to lay part of the burden upon the executors of Archbishop Grindal, lately deceased.

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An earthquake occasions the Bishop to compose certain prayers. He visits. His business with the Lord Rich. His device about appointment of preachers. His counsel for filling the see of Bath and Wells, and other sees.

THERE happened, April the 6th, in the year 1580, an earthquake in London and the parts adjacent, and farther off. Camden, in his History of Queen Elizabeth, writes of it, that it was about six in the even, the air clear and calm, in England on this side York, and in the Netherlands, almost as high as Colen; when the earth in a moment fell a trembling in such a manner, that in some places stones fell down from buildings, and the bells in the steeples struck against the clappers, and the sea, that was then calm, vehemently tossed and moved to and fro; and the night following the ground in Kent trembled two or three days: and the like again happened May the 1st, in the dead time of the night. The Bishop of London was piously sensible of this, and willing to take this opportunity to call the people to repentance, that such a terrible providence might have a due effect upon them. And indeed this earthquake, together with the present apprehension of the nation's enemies, made a mighty impression upon men's hearts. The Bishop speedily upon this, while the matter was warm, and the people affected with fear and horror, framed prayers to be used in public through his diocese on this occasion; having also some instructions from the Lord Treasurer, by the Queen's order, for the same; who signified, that she would not have any solemn matter made of it; meaning not to have a day set apart through the kingdom for it; but yet some serious notice to be taken of it in the public devotions. In compliance with which, the Bishop had composed the prayers aforesaid without any special psalms; but the psalms to be read according to the common order. The Lord Treasurer, a grave and pious man, signified his mind to the Bishop ra-

An earthquake.

Frames prayers for this occasion.

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ther for some more solemn observation of a day; or at least that all things should be done, as much as might be, to the capacity and edifying of the people. But the Bishop in answer, first thanking God for this Lord's care of so important a thing as the people's spiritual benefit, did nevertheless take leave to dissent from him for the keeping of a national day; because the state of the time considered, together with the malice of the enemies, who commonly (though falsely) upbraided the English Protestants, that they never fasted, and seldom prayed; he held it requisite, without farther delay, to give some order and direction to stir up the people to devotion, and to turn away God's wrath threatened by the earthquake. But the compiling of a new form of prayer would ask a longer time; and therefore he thought it would do more good, if the form already finished were followed; especially for that the people was then much moved with the present warning: but their nature was such as commonly to make these things but a nine days' wonder: adding, *Cito arescit lacryma;* i. e. A tear soon dries up; and that he might say, *multo citius indolescit animus;* i. e. much sooner does the mind wear off its grief: that it were therefore necessary, that things of this nature should be done out of hand: but yet concluding, that what should seem best to his Lordship he was ready to follow. But we return to his dealings with his Clergy.

A visitation.

In the year 1580 [c] he instituted an episcopal visitation, which began August 16th, in London; and in the month of November ensuing were divers articles exhibited by the Archdeacon, to be inquired by the ministers, church-wardens, and sworn men of every parish within the archdeaconry of London; in all the diocese also, in places as well exempt as not exempt, according to the special direction of certain letters, sent to the Bishop from the Lords of the Queen's Privy Council: which articles were as follow, and respected chiefly the Laity, Sectaries, and Papists.

Imprimis, Whether there be any in your parish that do

[c] See Additions, Numb. III.

refuse to conform themselves in matters of religion, and to come to their own parish church, and refuse the Communion; and what be their names, and of what condition or estate they are. Articles to be inquired of.

Item, How long they have refused so to do.

Item, How many of their wives, children, servants, or others, sojourning and abiding in their houses, do likewise refuse so to do; and what be their names and surnames; and how long they have so done.

Item, For what cause they have refused so to do.

Item, Of what yearly living in England, or other value of substance or goods, are these principal persons thought to be, in truth and in deed, and not as they be stinted in the subsidy book.

Item, Whether any one or more of them have been now already committed to any prison for such recusancy.

Memorandum, This inquisition not to extend to any other than such as do obstinately refuse to come to their parish church, and there to receive the Communion.

This inquisition seems to have been set on foot upon the intelligence of the increase of Papists. For those crafty emissaries of Rome took this opportunity to reconcile as many as they could to the pretended unity of the Church, while the eyes of the State were chiefly upon the dissenting brethren, of whom it had a great jealousy about this time. Chiefly for Papists.

Therefore from henceforth both sorts were equally looked unto; and in the month of January 1581, there was a call of the City Ministers, to make inquiry what sons of English gentlemen and others, or what servants were now beyond seas, and to what ends they went; whether as scholars, or factors, or otherwise. And the same month, namely, January 29th, there was another call of them into the consistory by the Bishop of London and ecclesiastical Commissioners; when these injunctions and inquiries were given forth. 1. No invectives to be used of or against estates: [that is, this or other kingdoms, or potentates: some preachers, as it seems, being now-a-days very liberal of their speeches both against France and Spain.] 2. None to re- City Ministers cited again. And again.

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fuse the wearing of the surplice. 3. That there be no diminishing or altering the service. 4. Inquiry to be made who did not celebrate the Sacraments together with their preaching; doing the one, but wholly omitting the other. 5. Also, who made alteration in the rites required to be used in Baptism. 6. Who did not catechize the youth. 7. The seventh article related to contentious preachers, who scandalously gave others the name of *dumb dogs*. 8. The last related to such as utterly refused to read the Homilies. The Bishop at this assembly shewed himself somewhat earnest, and said, he would surely and severely punish the offenders in these points, or *I will lie*, said he, *in the dust for it.*

Contends with the Lord Rich, a Puritan.

He had a long and troublesome business with a certain nobleman, a great favourer of the Puritans. It was the Lord Rich, who about the years 1580 and 1581, had exercises of religion after their way in his house in Essex, one Wright being the preacher; who seems to have been the same Wright with him of Trinity College in Cambridge, and tutor to the Earl of Essex, both before and at his being at the University; a sister of which Earl the said Lord Rich had married. These meetings in this Lord's house the Bishop being informed of, opposed and forbade, and by the power he had endeavoured to stop. In his father's time, the former Lord Rich, the Bishop had many storms from him upon the same account: and now his son continued the same practices in his house. This was come by this time to the Queen's ear; that is, that there were disorders practised in Essex, and particularly in that Peer's house; which she angrily took notice of to the Lord Treasurer: of which he acquainted the Bishop, and withal, that it was her order and command to him, to take notice of those unlawful exercises, and forbid them. The Bishop took this opportunity, that the Queen might know what troubles he underwent in this her service, by the answer he made to the Treasurer's letters; therein desiring and entreating that Lord to signify to her Majesty, that he had many great storms with the late Lord Rich; and that now lately the

present Lord Rich, and his bastard uncle, and another, came into his house at Fulham, to solicit him to licence the aforesaid Wright to preach in his diocese; but this the Bishop utterly denied to do, unless he would subscribe to the orders of this Church. But that Lord's aforesaid uncle did hereupon so shake him up, that he said he was never so abused at any man's hands since he was born. For which he was minded to commit him, as great a person as he was, but that there were not three Commissioners together to do it according to the authority of the Commission: but determined that he [the Bishop] and some of the rest would call him at their first sitting in the term; for he considered, the Queen's chief Commissioner was not so contemptuously to be treated for saving the honour of the Princess herself; and our Prelate's spirit was as great as the greatest.

He then gave the Lord Rich warning, that he followed not his uncle's counsel in those matters; and that if he did, he must needs make her Majesty acquainted with it; and so he meant to do.

Wright his preacher.

His endeavour next was to get Wright their preacher. But him he could not come by, unless he sent a power of men to fetch him out of a nobleman's house; for he had charged both father and son to send him unto him; and they promised they would, but never did. Therefore, seeing they of the Commission had done as far as their said Commission gave them leave, he hoped her Majesty would think the best of their doings, and not suffer them to be defaced by such busy-bodies; or be grieved with them, the Commissioners, for not doing that which their authority reached not unto. Two years he had been thus struggling with them: but he told the Treasurer, that unless they should pull Wright out by the ears, he knew not how they should come by him. These things were by the said Treasurer communicated to the Queen; and so the Bishop desired they might in his own vindication.

They come before the Commission ecclesiastical.

This business made such a noise, and the Queen so irritated, that it seems Mr. Rich and Mr. Wright aforesaid, and the other, were had in examination before the Commis-

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sioners in the month of October, not long after the forementioned rencounter with the Bishop, which happened in September; and the Lord Burghley himself, perhaps by the Queen's special order, was present. In November they had these men again before the Bishop and Commission. At this second appearance great proofs were brought against them [*i. e.* Rich and Wright] concerning their speech about solemnizing the Queen's day, *viz.* November the 17th; against Wright, for asking if they would make it an holy day, and so make our Queen an idol: and against Rich, for soothing and maintaining, in very great earnest, the same speeches, and others like to them. For this cause, and for rejecting the book, and many other disorders, the Bishop with the rest of the Commissioners sitting the 7th of November, committed them both; Wright to the Fleet, and Rich to the Marshalsea: and one Dix, another very disordered man, and a violent innovator, (as the Bishop charactered him,) was sent to the Gate-house: that he there, and Wright in the Fleet, might exercise their learning against the Papists who lay in those prisons, which hitherto they had broached against their brethren, and against the State.

Writes to the Queen concerning his doings.

And having proceeded thus far, the Bishop thought good, for his better safety in case of false informers, to tell his tale to the Queen herself in a letter from him and the rest of the Commissioners; which he did in January following: and that for these reasons, as he signified to the Lord Treasurer, who seemed not so well to have approved of it, since the Bishop had before desired this Lord to acquaint the Queen with it. First, because the Lord Chancellor had said, it were better it should be known farther. Secondly, he understood the Queen knew of it, and had thought that she had heard nothing before of it as from him. Thirdly, because it chiefly touched her. Wherefore he and the rest thought good to make her privy to it.

Wright offers a subscription.

In fine, Mr. Wright, having lain in the Gate-house till September 1582, became willing to subscribe to two articles; *viz.* to his good allowance of the ministry of the Church of England, and to the Book of Common Prayer.

Yet one thing more the Bishop required of him; which was, that some of his friends should be bound for him in a good round sum, that from henceforth he should neither commit in act, nor preach any thing contrary to the same: and then the Bishop did not mislike that he should have farther favour, so that the Queen were made privy thereunto, whom this offence did chiefly concern.

His device for preachers.

Our Bishop was instrumental, anno 1581, in setting on foot a very useful practice in London; namely, that a number of learned, sound preachers might be appointed to preach on set times before great assemblies; chiefly, I suppose, for the Paul's Cross sermons; their pains to be spent mainly in confirming the people's judgments in the doctrine and discipline of the present established Church, so much struck at and undermined by many in these times; and for the encouragement hereof certain contributions to be made, and settled on them by the city. This motion was so approved of at Court, and by the Queen especially, that Mr. Beal, a clerk of the Council, was sent from above to the Bishop, bringing with him certain notes and articles for the more particular ordering of this business, which he and the ecclesiastical Commissioners were to lay before the Mayor and Aldermen. Sir John Branch was then Mayor; who, it seems, with the Aldermen, did not much like this motion, for the standing charge it must put the city to. For after much expectation, the Mayor gave the Bishop answer, that his brethren thought it a matter of much difficulty, and almost of impossibility also. Notwithstanding, to draw them to this good purpose, the Bishop had appointed divers conferences with them; but after all concluded, (and so he signified to the Lord Treasurer,) that unless the Lords wrote directly unto them, to let them know it was the Queen's pleasure, and theirs, little would be done in it; and so a good design overthrown *by the might of mammon*, as he expressed it. But withal he offered that himself and the rest would, if it pleased them above, proceed farther and do what they could, thinking it pity so good a purpose should

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be hindered, where there was so much ability to maintain it.

His grave advice for supplying vacant sees.

The see of Bath and Wells was now in November 1581 void by the death of Gilbert Barklay, aged eighty years; who by reason of his great age, and the affliction of a lethargy, could not be so diligent as was requisite in so large a diocese, and so inclined to superstition and the Papal religion; which grew the more for want of episcopal inspection, and frequent good instruction. At the same time the diocese of Norwich bent much towards innovation, and harboured such as taught disobedience to the orders of the Church; which our Bishop, being a Norfolk man born, the more laid to heart. For these causes at this time he seriously bethought himself, how these things might be seasonably remedied by fit Bishops; and that the Queen's and the Treasurer's consciences might be well discharged in this work of setting governors over the flock of Christ, he in a very grave and bishop-like manner expressed his mind to the said Treasurer in this affair, urging it closely upon him not to neglect so necessary a matter, as he would give account to God for it: advising therefore that Cooper, the Bishop of Lincoln, a learned and active man, might be translated to Bath and Wells; Freke of Norwich, less fit for that place, to go to Lincoln; Young, a good governor, Bishop of Rochester, to be removed to Norwich; and the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Goodman, a man excellently qualified, to succeed to Rochester, to be held *in commendam* with the deanery. And with what good reasons he backed this his advice, and what deference and yet becoming gravity he joined with it, will appear to him that reads his letter. Thus therefore he accosts that great counsellor:

His letter to the Treasurer for that purpose.

" Right Honourable and my singular good Lord. For-
" asmuch as I am in conscience persuaded, that no man
" next to her Majesty hath a greater care for the furnishing
" of the Church of Christ with able men, especially to be
" Bishops, than you have; nor any man more able to dis-

" cern and judge of meet or unmeet persons for such rooms, " both for your long experience in the Commonwealth, and " for that rare learning that God hath endued you with; " therefore, as one wishing that the best jewels may be " sought out for the garnishing of Christ's Church, I " thought good to call upon you, (though I need not,) and " to put you in remembrance of that I know you never for- " get, (unless it be through your great and infinite business,) " that it may please you to have a special eye to the be- " stowing of the bishopric of Bath and Wells; wherein I " will not prescribe, but shew what I wish, to the discharge " of her Majesty's conscience, which I know of itself herein " is tender, and godly, careful for the great advancement of " God's glory, and the profit of his Church. Methink " therefore (pardon me, my good Lord) it were good, if " Lincoln were removed to Bath; where, for lack of a learned " man, reigneth great ignorance; and Norwich (who shall " never be able to do any great good where he is) to Lin- " coln, where the diocese is well settled; and Rochester to " Norwich; who for his quickness in government, and his " readiness in learning, is the fittest man for that country " that I know; and especially to bridle the innovators, not " by authority only, but also by weight of argument: and " then to his place Mr. Dean of Westminster, a man every " way very fit for any good place; who having his deanery " *in commendam*, might marvellous well serve her Majesty " in the room of the Almoner, who now I know, even upon " conscience, would be glad to be with his flock. And so I " think all places would be sufficiently provided, and your " conscience discharged; to whom I am persuaded the due " looking to this matter specially appertaineth, because you " are learned and zealous.

" Therefore in God's behalf, my good Lord, look to it; " for truly God will require an account of your omission at " your hands. Thus hoping you will forgive me this bold- " ness, I take my leave, most humbly praying God to bless " you many years in this State; that we all thereby may

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" continue to taste of the wonted blessings which God hath " poured upon us by her Majesty's ministry, and your " Christian vigilancy.

" Your good Lordship's humbly to command,

" JOHN LONDON."

" From my house by Paul's,
" November 28, 1581.

But all this good plot of the Bishop came to nothing: and notwithstanding this serious incitement, this bishopric laid vacant for almost three years after, (a thing sometimes practised in this Queen's reign, I will not say for the sake of the temporalities,) and then Dr. Goodwin, Dean of Canterbury, was preferred to it.

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The Bishop's care about the Commission. Labours a remove to Ely.

Several punished for inconformity.

AT the commitment of Rich, Wright, and Dix, before mentioned, were present the Bishop, Sir Owen Hopton, Dr. Clark, Dean of the Arches, Dr. Walker, and Dr. Lewen; Dr. Lewis, Dr. Hammond, Mr. Mullins, Archdeacon of London, and other Commissioners, which ought to have assisted, withdrew themselves; which weakened their proceedings. But at this sitting, some they had admonished, and some suspended, (but not many,) till they should shew themselves conformable in allowing the book.

Complains of some Commissioners that absented.

The Bishop observed how in these things, and such other as he judged of importance, but odious, their colleagues did shrink from them; whereby those few that did assist grew discouraged. He thought fit therefore to let the Lord Treasurer know it, and interpose himself in it. He advised that the Dean of the Arches, who was very active and assistant, might be encouraged by his Lordship or the Queen; especially having had little favour from the Court: and the

others to be somewhat touched by his letters for their absence. He feared that within a while in such matters of displeasure, they should have but few to join with them. The Recorder, Mr. Fleetwood, in the term-time seldom or never came amongst them. He also propounded to have some other able and courageous men to be joined with them, as Dr. Dale, Dr. Forth, Civilians, and the Chancellor of London. For he shewed how he saw that other men in weighty matters slipped the collar.

Apparitors employed on Sundays.

At the aforesaid last sitting of the Commissioners they made an order, that the Archdeacons, Commissaries, and Officials, should send their Apparitors from place to place every Sunday, to see what conformity was used in every parish, and to certify. These proceedings the Bishop prayed the Treasurer to impart to the Queen for her better satisfaction, and to understand farther her pleasure in the same. Which he thought would not be amiss to be done.

The Lord Treasurer sends cautions to the Bishop.

In the midst of their business in the month of December 1581, that the Bishop and his colleagues might not do any thing to create more displeasure against them and their Commission, and that there might be no occasion of appealing from them, the Lord Burghley sent Dr. Lewis, Master of the Requests, to the Bishop, to advise him not to meddle with many matters, by virtue of their Commission, but such only as concerned religion. Which direction, mixed with so much wisdom and moderation, and proceeding from so great a counsellor, the Bishop received in very good part; and to demonstrate what a grateful sense he had of it, he despatched his mind in these words, *viz.*

His answer thereupon.

" That he agreed with his Lordship in judgment, as one " by whom he had ever desired to be directed, and would " be still, if it pleased him to grant him that favour that he " might. For his wisdom, zeal, experience, learning, and " godliness, (he thanked God,) he accounted to be such, " and himself in all such so mean, that he would think him- " self happy to be directed by him. And therefore my " good Lord (as he added) do but let me in such points " know your pleasure, and by God's grace I shall be as

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" ready to accomplish it as any whosoever either love you " or honour you. And so the Lord pour his rich blessings " upon you and yours to his glory," &c.

The Bishop the great stay of the Commission.

It was still the Bishop that moved this body, the rest being ready to slip away from the work, had not he still appeared, and acted vigorously, and carried the Commissioners along with him. For he was absent but once by reason of a pain in his eyes, and there was no sitting, to the great murmuring and charges of the suitors. The civil lawyers that were of the Commission neglected the public, and looked after their private affairs, where their gains most lay. But the Dean of the Arches, and Hopton, who was Lieutenant of the Tower, continued very diligent. And the Bishop on these considerations moved the Lord Treasurer to write a letter to the Registrar, a little to touch the slackness of the Commissioners, naming none, and giving some commendations unto Dr. Clark and Sir Owen Hopton, who only were painful. And that his Lordship would hereby greatly farther the service.

The success of his pains.

And indeed by his diligence and patience he was a great instrument, in obedience to the Queen, to quell and take down these men, who set themselves against the ecclesiastical order, notwithstanding all their endeavours and interest at Court against him: which he remembered to the Lord Treasurer as a good office that he had done, for which the Queen, he reckoned, ought to favour him, and not to give ear to every information given against him and the Commissioners; but to consider into what peaceable tranquillity God, by his poor service, as he said, had brought not only London, and the whole diocese, but also the most part of England, since he came to that place: whereby he had, as he thought in his conscience, rather deserved her gracious favour than discouragement. For on the other side he expressed how he was hated like a dog, and was called *the oppressor of the children of God.*

Meets with troubles at Court.

By this it appears that he laboured at this time under some discountenance at Court, the Puritans commonly raising a dust there against the Bishops that favoured them not.

Aylmer had indeed a cause depending now before the Queen and Council, upon some complaint as it seems for a pretended injuring of the revenues of the bishopric by felling great quantities of wood. This was in the year 1581, these accusations were mixed with much falsehood, creating him great trouble. But the Lord Burghley here stood his friend to the Queen, and stuck to him heartily. Which kindness of his so overcame the Bishop, that he could not sufficiently express his gratitude; writing thus to him; "My good Lord, I cannot but honour you for carrying yourself with so great equity before her Majesty in my late cause. You have so won my heart, (though God is my witness you had it before,) that you shall be the man to whom I will trust, (under God,) whom I will only choose for my judge in all cases, and honour as my most noble friend at all times; and in some part be thankful, as I may, but never as you deserve." Thus did this good man's soul run out, as though it had been melted down with the seasonable kindness of this noble person; whose uprightness was such, that he used not to favour any, but those whose innocency or other circumstances required it.

Labours a remove.

But the Bishop plainly saw how liable he was to these troubles while he remained Bishop of London, and how subject to the inconvenience of slanderous tongues and malicious informations, which had too much ear at Court. The labour and attendance also of the Commission was too heavy for him, now become old. Wherefore he endeavoured long for a remove to another diocese: which he had been harping upon ever since the year 1579: for then he was earnest with the Lord Treasurer to procure him a translation either to Ely or Winchester. But because the former hung upon uncertain points, (Bishop Cox of Ely being yet alive, and there being a design to take away some of the revenues of that see, to which the Bishop incumbent was to agree,) therefore he chose to decline that; and disclosed his wishes unto the Treasurer, that Dr. Day, the present Bishop of Winchester, might be removed to London, and he in his room to Winchester; and that his Lordship should

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find him as thankful as any that ever received benefit at his hands. And that being so near he might assist the Bishop of London, which peradventure would be some ease to him, and not unprofitable for the ecclesiastical government.

He hath the grant of Ely.

But afterward his eye lay chiefly upon Ely, (the change with Winchester it seems not being to be expected.) He had in the languishing time of Cox, Bishop of that see, made interest with the Lord Treasurer to be invested in it, when the present incumbent should die. And as for this suit which the Treasurer made for our Bishop, the Queen granted it: and so Secretary Walsingham told him. Therefore the good Bishop of Ely being dead, two days after his death, that is, July 24, 1581, the Bishop despatched a letter to his before-mentioned friend at Court to promote now his remove, having certain news of Cox's departure. "And he "thought fit now, as he wrote, to remind him, that as by "his Lordship's only means he had at her Majesty's hands "then a yea, so by some sinister working her gracious fa- "vour were not turned into a nay. He added, that he "would not seek the place as he did, but that he found in "himself some imperfection in body and mind, being then "*homo sexagenarius:* and that he found in himself, that "within a short time he should never answer her Majesty's "expectation, nor his own conscience, in that place of ser- "vice which hitherto had been so tedious, that he hoped "her Majesty even of justice would recompense him, though "not with gain, yet with ease in these his crooked years."

It was about this time that the Queen was in the mind to remove him to Worcester, and in his room to have preferred Dr. Richard Bancroft, Archbishop Whitgift's Chaplain, an active man, and made much use of in the ecclesiastical Commission. But whatever the matter was, this came to nothing.

Solicits his remove to Ely.

He continued soliciting this business till April 1582, when he begged of the aforesaid Lord a remove upon account of his age, and the greatness of the business of London, much fitter for a younger man than he. The said Nobleman had stirred in this business for him; and now he entreated him

that he would finish that which he had so favourably hitherto followed; desirous to be delivered of this *heavy burden*, as he called it, of London. The bishopric of Ely had been now void for a pretty long time; which he was contented to succeed into. He desired now in the beginning of the year, that the business might be finished, since he once had the Queen's promise for it. He pleaded, now was the time for him to settle himself for his provision either here or there: which must at this time be considered of both for the successor's commodity, and his own. He added, how this ensuing summer would much hinder the state of that living, both the parks and elsewhere. And he heard that great swarms both of Papists and of the family of love did daily increase there, for lack of one to look unto such disorders. But alas! these were not sufficient reasons to fill that vacant see while there wanted not men about the Queen that suggested to her the ample revenues of it. And Bishop Aylmer seemed not to be for their turn; that is, to submit to the alienation of some of the lands and lordships of it. So that however he called this *his long looked for suit*, and thought it now upon a despatch, yet he was deceived.

Solicits again the next year.

But still he gave it not over; for in October the next year I find him labouring with the Treasurer in the same cause: who furthered it again with the Queen, and got some good probability of it. So that the Bishop hung in suspense, and could not settle to make his provisions in any place. He pleaded again his years; and that that place of London had need of a younger man than he was. And at last he was so near his desired remove, that his *congé d'élire* seemed only deferred a little, because he was concerned in a commission for the reparation of Paul's, which by his departure thence might probably receive some hindrance; and because the Queen's audit for the temporalities of that bishopric of Ely was at hand. But the Bishop answered, that as for the first, the action would follow his person; and that it was to be answered at Ely as well as at London. And as to the second, that the audit would be

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past before he could do his homage; and so the *congé d'élire* could not be hindrance to that. But this business still stuck; and finally came to nothing.

Fed with hope.

However he was always fed with hope to succeed at last; calling it therefore his *long lingering hope.* For in June 1585, the Lord Treasurer sent him word by a certain Lord, that he had it in his mind and purpose to purchase him some more ease in his old years; adding many favourable speeches concerning him. Which revived again in him the sense of this great man's honourable countenance towards him ever since he came to that *restless see*, or *euripus*, as he chose to call his bishopric, and the constant continuance of his favour and furtherance in that long lingering hope of his, which his Lordship and some other of his friends had divers times set on foot for him.

Troubled again by informers.

It was mentioned a little above, that our Bishop had a business depending at Court, concerning some complaint made against him for embezzling his woods. Which was the second time these informations were made to the Council or Star-chamber against him. Of which nevertheless he had a discharge; and the Lord Treasurer shewed himself therein his greatest friend. The great informer now against him was one Litchfield, a Court musician, who was the informer of cutting down of the elms in Fulham. But the Bishop was so confident of his own innocency in this business, that he prayed the Lord Treasurer, that he would procure that he might answer any adversary he had: and he doubted not but he should clear himself. Indeed for his lewd officers, which he had then in suit, he could not so well answer. The woods in the park were better than they were before his time. And for the out woods he did his best (both by suit of law, and by diligent looking to them) to meet with the outrage of the borderers; who indeed had sought to spoil them, so much as in them lay. And in truth a great share of that timber that had been felled since his time was done by the woodwards: who having by his predecessor a large grant of fees by the name of dead trees, starveling trees, sear trees, and such as were in decay, car-

ried away all the timber there. For as he, since her Majesty's restraint, had not felled nor sold one tree, so under the terms aforesaid the woodwards had carried away above an hundred, which were good timber trees. For indeed there were few or no timber trees then within his parks, but either sear, starveling, or half dead. Therefore by the rigour of his patent the woodward should have all, and the Bishop none, by reason of the prohibition: whereas neither law nor conscience, as the Bishop himself argued, could otherwise interpret his grant, than that he should have firewood only, and no timber. But the Bishop had not only this wrong done him, but all was laid upon his neck, though it were other men's faults. So that in fine he desired to come to his answer against any man that should take upon him to charge him. And as for Litchfield, in truth he wanted twenty timber trees, and requested them of the Bishop. But the Bishop refused to give them: which if he had granted, as he plainly told the Treasurer, it would have ended all this matter. But this man soon after died.

The elms in Fulham.

He it was that blazed abroad the report of the Bishop's felling of the elms about the palace at Fulham: but it was a shameful untruth. And how false it was, all the Court knew, and the Queen herself could witness. For she had lately lodged at the palace there; where she misliked nothing, but that her lodgings were kept from all good prospect by the thickness of the trees, as she told her Vice-Chamberlain; and he reported so to the Bishop. And Dr. Pern, Dean of Ely, being at a great man's table soon after, and hearing much railing discourse against the Bishop for his felling the elms at Fulham, asked one of the company, being an ancient lawyer, how long the elms at Fulham had been felled; "Some half a year ago", said the lawyer. "Then replied Pern, "they are marvellously grown in that time. "For I assure you, I was there within these four days, and "they seem to be two hundred years old." And then he took occasion likewise to repeat the passage mentioned before, how the Queen complained of her prospect hindered by the trees. And therefore that story that commonly

Admonition to the people of England, p. 56.

The Queen lodges at Fulham.

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went, and is mentioned by Martin Marprelate, and Sir John Harrington, is false: namely, that Madox should tell the Bishop, that his name was *Elmar*, but it might well be *Mar-elm*, for that he had *marred* all the elms in Fulham. For Madox, who dwelt at Fulham, well knew that the elms were not felled at all: or perhaps but two or three of the decayed ones. Which might give umbrage to the clamour.

Brief view.

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The Bishop celebrates the 17th of November. Slandered. Papists have mass in prison. Goes his visitation. Suspends one Huckle. Suit with his predecessor for dilapidations. Thomas Cartwright taken up.

BUT now let us look a little back, and observe some of the Bishop's doings in the dispensation of his office, and in other matters that befell him in the years 1583, 1584, and 1585.

The Queen's day solemnized at Paul's.

In the year 1583, the Queen's day, that is, the 17th of November, fell on a Sunday: which the Bishop resolved to celebrate with all the becoming solemnity that so great a mercy as her access to the crown deserved. Therefore he obtained the favour of Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to preach that day at St. Paul's; and that the great Lords of the Court might honour the auditory with their presence, he invited them after the sermon to dine with him; *viz.* the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, and other great personages.

His enemies slander him.

In the beginning of November divers of the Council desired to speak with the Bishop, that they might be better informed about his matter, (that is, somewhat that his enemies had accused him of.) And in the issue he found at their Lordships' hands great justice with honourable favour: and so came off with much reputation. But, however, this

appearance before the Counsellors gave occasion to the faction to boast, and to bruit abroad that the Bishop of London was called before the Council, and there chidden, and what not; as though this had been in respect of his severe actings in the Commission. However false this was, the Bishop, being a man of a stout and somewhat hasty spirit, was inwardly vexed; and thought this talk arose partly from his being before so many of the Council; which made the matter look somewhat criminal on his side. Therefore for the future, to prevent any such surmises, he prayed the Lord Burghley, that hereafter, if there should be occasion, he might be called before him, and some one of the Council; or else he must, as he said in some heat, with their good Lordships' favour, give over sitting in the Commission: and moreover wished earnestly that the Archbishop were in the Commission; for he, for his part, was deadly weary. Accordingly the Commission was renewed in December, and the Archbishop put in to help to bear the burden.

His request hereupon.

The Bishop was troubled at this time with Popish Priests and Jesuits, who lay in the prisons in and about London, and especially the Marshalsea; being now replenished with these dangerous underminers of the quiet state of the realm, and disowners of the Queen's supremacy. These, though by the laws they were liable to the death of traitors, yet the Queen cared not to spill their blood, but rather to keep them up in restraint from doing mischief abroad, by their massing and suggesting evil counsels against religion and the Queen's just authority. But though they were thus in hold, under an easy confinement, they followed their appointed business, commonly saying mass, and enticing the youth of London unto them, to the Bishop's great grief when he understood it; and especially that they were daily reconciled. One of these, named Hartly, was more busy than the rest; whom he therefore shut up, and laid irons upon him, till he should hear from above what course to take hereafter in this matter.

Papists in prison pervert many.

Our Bishop's triennial visitation happened this year, 1583. Visits.

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June the 21st he visited his London Clergy at St. Paul's; where Dr. Walker, one of the Archdeacons, preached. Then was required of them generally a new subscription. That which he discovered this visitation, among other things that were faulty, and required correction, was the practice of the commutation of penance; much practised in his diocese by Chancellors, Commissaries, Officials, Registers, even to the very Apparitor. And these commutations were so many, and sometimes so strange, that he feared it would be a means to let in all manner of vice; which like a flood (unless prevented) was in danger to overspread the whole realm; especially the wealthier sort, who might be as bad as they pleased, when they should think they might be saved from punishment by their mammon. And this was done notwithstanding a late Convocation had expressly ordered, that there should be no commutation of penance without the Bishop of the diocese's privity. And in this abuse even the highest courts ecclesiastical were not clear.

Complains of commutation of penance.

Of all this the Bishop, being now at Hadham in Hertfordshire, (as it seems in his visitation,) informed the Lord Treasurer; and, for the redressing of this evil, desired the said Lord, together with the Council, to direct their letters to the High Commissioners ecclesiastical: that where in the last Convocation at the last Parliament order had been taken by the Bishops of the realm then and there assembled, that no commutation of penance should be made without the Bishop should be made acquainted; (which thing was not at all observed,) therefore their Lordships' pleasure was, that the said Commissioners should examine all manner of ecclesiastical officers, what and how many penances they had commuted and changed within six or seven years past. The benefit whereof, according as the Bishop propounded it, might be, that these commutations being refunded, (which he concluded to be very considerable,) should go towards the reparation of the ruinous church of St. Paul's; "which "would well help to make good a good piece of it. And "besides, by this means all ecclesiastical officers would," as he said, "be more precise in bargaining for sin, and all sin-

His advice for the reforming thereof.

"ners would be more afraid of punishment: God's name "would be less dishonoured, and the chief of the Clergy, "which were therein most blamed, should, he hoped, shew "themselves of all others to have least gain: or else let "them bear," said he, "the burden of their deserts." This letter was writ in July. Thus honestly and discreetly did our Bishop advise for the cure of this corruption of discipline: but what effect it had I cannot say.

Silenceth a dangerous Minister.

In the foresaid visitation the Bishop silenced one Huckle, a Minister in his diocese; a person who it seems before, for divers years past, had been complained of in his archdeacon's and commissary's courts. He was a busy man, transgressing the orders appointed in the Church, and an enemy to the peace of it; an impugner of the book, and a gatherer of night-conventicles, and more lately a busy disputer against Athanasius's Creed. Him therefore, when the Bishop himself could not reclaim him, he suspended from his preaching. And he declared that he was the more in fear of him, because he was but an indifferent scholar, and so the more easily carried into error. But notwithstanding, this man, after having laid some time under suspension, got friends at the Council-board; who in May 1584 sent their letter to our Bishop to restore him again. But he shewed himself herein a man not to be warped from doing his duty by any authority. For with all deference making his answer to the said letter, he shewed them what the man was, according as was said before, and therefore how dangerous to be readmitted to his office. And finally, that he hoped their Lordships would permit him to use his discretion in ordering such offenders, unknown to them, but much complained of to him. But that he might avoid displeasure, he applied to the Lord Treasurer, who had been absent from the Council, letting him know what he had done, that if occasion were, he might interpose a seasonable word in the Council, as he knew he would do in all matters of justice and equity.

Another suspended by him;

George Giffard, Minister at Malden, was also about this time (*viz.* in the year 1584) suspended from preaching and

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administering the Sacraments; for refusing to subscribe the Articles, which all the Clergy were obliged to subscribe to, there being some things in the Book of Common Prayer which he was not persuaded of to be agreeable to the word of God. Information also was given against him to the Bishop, that he taught disobedience to magistrates, used conventicles, and secret teachings, and divers other things worthy of sharp reprehension. This man was a great and diligent preacher, and much esteemed by many, and of good rank in the town, and had brought that place to more sobriety and knowledge of true religion: insomuch that many of his hearers obtained from the Lord Treasurer a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in his behalf. But the Archbishop shewed the said Lord, that Giffard was a ringleader of the rest; and that he had received certain complaints against him, to the answering whereof they of the High Commission did intend to call him: and that his deserts might be such as would deserve deprivation; and therefore he thought it not convenient to grant him any farther liberty or release of his suspension, until he had purged himself. The Bishop of London also had sent the Archbishop an account of certain crimes charged upon him, wherefore he had suspended and restrained him; which the Archbishop also sent to the Treasurer. This happened in May 1584.

viz. George Giffard, Minister of Malden.

Restored.

It was not long after, that Giffard was brought to answer before the High Commission; and his accusers were heard, and he, in his own vindication, by certain discreet men appointed by their letters. But his enemies could not prove any of their accusations to be true. Whereupon the Bishop restored him to his preaching.

Suspended again.

But this was not the end of this Preacher's troubles; for upon some new complaint he was a second time suspended. Then a long and large petition was put up to the Bishop in his behalf, signed with the hands of two and fifty persons; whereof two were Bailiffs of the town, two Justices of the peace, four Aldermen, fifteen head Burgesses, and the Vicar of the town. In their petition they shewed how the former

A large testimonial of him by his auditors.

accusations appeared so false, that his Lordship had set him at liberty to preach after a suspension: that they themselves, and many others, had been nourished and strengthened in many good graces by his doctrine; and that the outrage of many notorious sins, commonly practised before his coming, was abated and suppressed, to the great glory of Almighty God, and the comfort of their weak consciences: that it was the profane and wicked sort, that ceased not in their great rage and malice both to his person and religion, to accuse him in slanderous and unjust reports; and therefore, that they could not but in a godly charity towards the man, and for the better information of his Lordship, soundly and rightly to judge of him and his cause, to certify him, that they and many others of his usual auditory never received from him any other but true and sound doctrine to their judgments; and that he always in preaching and catechizing taught outward obedience to princes and magistrates; that he preached and catechized in no other place than in the church; that he used no conventicles; and that in his life he was modest, discreet, and unreprovable: by which good and gracious means there was wrought a godly conformity of the people, to the great benefit of the town, and of the Church of God.

And to confirm this their report to be true, they reminded his Lordship, how the same Giffard their Preacher was convented before him and others the Queen's Commissioners, not long since, upon these and other like accusations, none of which his accusers could prove to be true; and that he, the said Bishop, restored him to his preaching: and therefore they most humbly begged, out of that godly care which they hoped to find at his hands for the benefit of their souls, that he would vouchsafe them his restitution. This Giffard, however he were a Puritan, wrote very well against Barrow, and the separatists, and the pleas and pretences urged by them for withdrawing from the public communion of the Church. I cannot proceed farther in relating the issue of this business, but conclude, it appearing a slander, the Bishop restored him.

Giffard wrote against Barrow.

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Here it comes in place to relate the issue of a law-suit, commenced between this Bishop, and Sandys, late Bishop of London, now Archbishop of York, whereof mention was made before. It was for dilapidations of St. Paul's church. The suit was great, long, and chargeable. At length the Queen, who had a great care of Paul's, granted a special Commission for the examining and proceeding in the matter. And in the year 1584 the Archbishop was cast, by sentence of the judges delegates, to pay to the present Bishop 900 or 1000*l.* for the repairs of the said church. And this was the sum Sandys's predecessor in the see of London, *viz.* Archbishop Grindal, had allowed him for his dilapidations. But after sentence, the Secretary, who was one of the delegates, was for a delay of the execution for a time, upon pretence the same was not just; and laboured that the Archbishop might obtain another commission for a new examination of the matter, before the former sentence were executed; and that because the Archbishop did pay a *quarta*. To this the Bishop urged many things: "as that the authority of a "sentence being once given might not be called in question "by the same judges, neither by any other, but a superior "judge. For that when sentence is once given, the law "saith, *Quod judex functus est officio suo;* and hath no "other thing to do but to execute: otherwise there would "never be an end or certainty of any suit; but that the "authority of judges would be eluded, and the travail and "cost of the parties utterly lost. That the judges in this "case might not stay execution upon pretence that the same "is unjust, or upon colour that the Archbishop might ob-"tain another commission for a new examination; for that "it was not likely that the Queen would grant a new com-"mission in this case, because the same had not hitherto "been granted in any like case; and that if there were any "hope to obtain such commission, yet the former judges "ought to proceed to execution of their sentence, until such "time they were inhibited. That learned writers did say, "that the denying of this execution was a contempt to the "superior that committed the cause, an injury to the party

Casts Archbishop Sandys for dilapidations.

His reasons against a new commission.

" that sought for execution, and charged the judges which " so denied justice, to answer all such damages as the party " sustained for lack of execution. Moreover, that the judges " delegates, in deciding and determining the matter, had used " great pains, travail, and diligence, to understand the truth " both in fact and in law; and after great and long delibe- " ration had given a just, discreet, and indifferent sentence. " That whereas Mr. Secretary made a scruple of *quarta*, the " truth was, the Archbishop paid not after the rate of *octava* " nor *duodecima*. That it was strange that the said Secre- " tary, who was not learned in the laws, should stick and " swerve from the rest of his colleagues, seeing he had given " sentence jointly with the rest. Farthermore, that the Bi- " shop of London and his executors should be charged for " ever with the sum of money that was adjudged by the " sentence, as with that which he had received, or might " receive; and could not any way be discharged against the " church, or against his successor, but by employing the " same upon the church: and that even then the Commis- " sioners for Paul's, by their letters to the Bishop, did ear- " nestly urge present payment thereof to be made: that the " decays of the church were such as required speedy and " present reparation." Yet after all this, the Bishop offered, that if the two Archbishops (who had been Bishops of London before him) would bear him harmless, he would be contented to hold himself satisfied.

The Bishop desires the judgment of the judges concerning certain Papists.

The Bishop and the other ecclesiastical Commissioners were inclined to release out of prison certain Popish Priests, whereof there were not a few now in custody; and that as it seems by some intimation from above, being unwilling the rigour of the law should take place upon them. But the Bishop doubted whether they might safely extend this favour to them; and therefore the opinion of the judges was required in this matter. This was in the beginning of the year 1585, when it was delivered by the said judges in the Star-chamber, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer present, *viz.* that they, being upon condemnation according

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to the statute in execution for the Queen, the Commission had no more to do with them.

Vauce, a Popish Priest.

It was not long after, that the Bishop had one Vauce, an old Popish Priest, and divers others of that order before him, whom the Commission found guilty and obnoxious to the law as criminals, and so in danger of death. In the behalf of this Vauce, who was not so bad as the rest, the Lord Treasurer had interceded with the Bishop for his deliverance. And the Bishop pitied the *old fellow*, as he called him, who was not the worst, though bad enough. But yet dared not to take upon him to deal with him or any other in the like state for their liberty, remembering what the judges lately had declared in the Star-chamber. And so he signified back to the said Treasurer. And that therefore it lay before him and the rest of the Lords of the Privy Council, and thence it must come, and not from them of the Commission.

Takes up Cartwright the Puritan.

Thomas Cartwright in these days was the chief head of the Puritan faction; a man of a bold spirit, and a running pen. He had writ some books against the hierarchy established by law in the English Church, whereby he had given great offence, and made himself obnoxious to the laws. This man Bishop Aylmer had lately taken and committed to prison; which, according to his constant practice, he acquainted the Lords with by the Clerk of the Council. And thinking to decline thereby displeasure from himself or the Commission, he took him up by warrant from the Queen; who in truth was incensed against him. And he sent the Lords word, that he did it by her order. But the Queen took this in evil part, and was very angry that he used her name to the Lords. This the good Bishop took to heart, and thus made his complaint to the Lord Treasurer, his constant friend, expostulating with him for what he had done, and begging his endeavours to appease the Queen's indignation.

The Queen offended with him.

" I understand myself to be in some displeasure with her " Majesty about Mr. Cartwright, because I sent word to

" your Lordships by the Clerk of the Council, that I com-
" mitted him by her Majesty's commandment. Alas! my
" Lord, in what a dilemma stood I, that if I had not shew-
" ed that warrant, I should have had all your displeasures,
" which I was not able to bear: and using it for my shield,
" (being not forbidden by her Majesty,) I am blamed for
" not taking upon me a matter, wherein she herself would
" not be seen. Well, I leave it to God, and to your wisdom
" to consider in what a dangerous place of service I am.
" But God whom I serve, and in whose hands the hearts
" of princes are, as the rivers of waters, can and will turn
" all to the best; and stir up such honourable friends as
" you are to appease her Highness's indignation."

Charged unjustly to have spoiled the bishopric.

Perhaps the Bishop's enemies took their opportunity now to buzz in the Queen's ears slanders and misreports against him: whereof one was, that he had spoiled the revenues of the bishopric; and how he was noted for this, she bade the Archbishop of Canterbury let him know from her. This was in August. Apprehending well how this tended to his great discredit, and knowing his innocency herein, and the good service he had done in truth to the bishopric, he drew up a brief note of particulars, which he communicated to the Treasurer, and to some other persons of honour, his friends, to shew that he was so far from impairing the bishopric, that he had bettered it in divers respects: and that so it would easily appear, whensoever the matter should come to trial, that he had by no means diminished it, but increased it considerably. And he applied to the said Treasurer, besecching him even in equity to weigh what wrong he had sustained by such reports, and, as occasion should serve, to let her Majesty understand that all was not true that had been reported.

A controversy between the Queen and him about a vicarage.

In the month of October following, another business fell out to our Bishop, by the instigation of some troublesome persons unknown, which created some controversy between the Queen and him. But herein the Bishop shewed himself a true friend to his poor Clergy, and withal a tight maintainer of the rights of his bishopric. The case was

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this. One Houseman, Vicar of Canwedon in Essex for thirty years, was complained of to the Lord Treasurer and other the Barons in the Exchequer-chamber, at Mr. Attorney General's information, for a supposed intrusion and wrong holding the said vicarage from her Majesty. The Vicar applied to his diocesan; who, having examined his ancient records, found that his predecessors, the Bishops of London, from time to time, for two hundred years agone and more, had some interest in the patronage of that vicarage by nomination; and now belonged unto him. Wherefore he engaged himself in this affair, and signified to the said Lord Treasurer his right by his own letter. And that he was informed by learned counsel, that the said suit or complaint could not by law be held or maintained there before him the Lord Treasurer, but was to be returned by trial at common law, where all matters of like nature had usually been heard and determined. Therefore, taking the case upon himself, he moved the said Lord, that he might find such favour, (if, as he added, by law or justice it might be,) that he would either dismiss the Vicar absolutely from his Lordship's Court of the Exchequer; or else, that he would return him with his cause to the common laws of the realm. "Where," said the Bishop, "he for his possession, "and I for the right of myself and of my successors in the "patronage of that vicarage, may use such defence as the "law doth permit us."

A Presbytery set up at Hatfield.

Another thing happened in this year 1585, that gave some concern also to our careful Bishop. It was a Presbytery set up within his diocese, at Hatfield Peverel in Essex; the head and teacher whereof was one Carew. Of him and his congregation such information was brought to the Bishop and his fellow-Commissioners, that they could not but summon divers of them, and after examination commit them. But before their commitment he repaired to the Lord Treasurer's house at London, and acquainted him with these persons, and their disorderly principles and practices. Whereat he replied in one or two short words taken out of the Scripture, *Habetis legem*, &c. Whereby he seemed

to think them worthy of the Commissioners proceeding with them. For as for Carew, he took upon him to preach without authority, nay, against authority: but this was not all, but he contemned all ecclesiastical censures; he was elected by the people, and practised a Presbytery. He defaced the Book of Public Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments. He utterly denied that article of the faith, that *Christ descended into hell.* He held to the Bishop's face, that the Queen had no authority to make ecclesiastical laws. He maintained, they must continue in division, because Christ saith, *Non veni mittere pacem, sed gladium:* i. e. *I came not to send peace, but a sword.* He put several good gentlemen and others from the Communion, when (as the Bishop wrote in his letter to the Treasurer about him) there was more need to allure them to it. He ignorantly and heretically held against the Bishop, *that the soul of man was of the substance of God;* and so consequently that it was infinite: and the soul of the reprobate being damned, the substance of God should be damned; with infinite such other errors, as the learned Bishop shewed him, whereinto he fell through ignorance and arrogancy. Nor could he speak three words of Latin. As for his people, he had brought them to that point, that they said, even at Baptism, that *it made no matter for the water, so we have the word.* And divers of them denied to join with the congregation in praying for the Queen; and irreverently sat with their heads covered, in spite of good order, when others kneeled and prayed for her.

Enormities and strange doctrines of their preacher.

The noise of these men was so great in the parts adjacent, that the Earl of Sussex, who lived at New-hall, not far off, signified to the Archbishop of Canterbury their great evil example. After these innovators were committed, the Archbishop and the Bishop took care to send down preachers to Hatfield, and one to read the book, according to the law. And however greatly they had offended, they were offered to be bailed upon these conditions: that Allen, the layman, would not disturb the preachers that were appointed to preach there, nor disquiet the Minister in reading the

His dealing at Hatfield.

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service, and that Carew preached no more in his diocese without licence. But in January these persons had the confidence to make their complaint to the Council against these proceedings, according to their custom: and some friends they had there. This when the Bishop understood, he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, who now seemed with others to shew them favour, importing, that they were committed by a great bench, both of divines, civilians, and common lawyers. That if his Lordship understood out of the registry and otherwise, of them and their behaviour, he thought the other would as much mislike them as they did. He shewed him the reasonable conditions made them for their enlargement; and at length in some heat he added, "that if those were suffered, the Church and the realm "would be so disturbed, as it was never yet since her Ma- "jesty's reign. That if the Lords of the Council thought "that the Bishop and his Commission would deal too hardly "with them, he prayed, in God's name, that the Archbishop "of Canterbury and the Commissioners there at Lambeth "might examine it, and inform the Lords how they found "it there; and the Bishop declared he and the rest would "be ready to exhibit the whole proceedings before them. "Finally concluding with these words, that if this foul and "contemptuous fact were suffered, he for his part must "yield up to her Highness all authority which they had "received at her hand."

Composes a prayer for a present occasion.

This year, 1585, the nation was much afflicted with unseasonable wet weather, and dispirited by fears arising from foreign enemies, the Queen of Scots, and the plots laid for Queen Elizabeth's life, on which so much depended the peace of England. This gave occasion to the Bishop to compose, or cause to be composed, a form of prayer, very pious and well expressed, and of good length, consisting of seven pages, and being one continued prayer; and recommended to be used in private families as well as in public. It was entitled, "A necessary and godly Prayer, by the "Right Reverend Father in God, John, Bishop of London, "to be used throughout all his Diocese upon Sundays and

"Fridays; for the turning away of God's wrath, as well "concerning this untemperate weather, and rain lately "fallen upon the earth, as also all other plagues and "punishments which for our manifold sins we most justly "deserve. Most needful to be used of every housholder "and his family throughout the realm." It began, "O "Almighty God, and most merciful Father, we most hum- "bly prostrate ourselves before thy mercy-seat," &c.

The Bishop endeavours to pacify the citizens concerning the strangers.

The Bishop was now, together with the Lord Mayor, using his interest in the city of London to pacify a murmuring and discontent among the citizens, occasioned by the great multitude of poor strangers that fled thither, by reason of the persecution of religion in those parts whence they came. The tradesmen were apprehensive how injurious they would prove to them by underworking and underselling them, and getting part of the business from them. Of this dissatisfaction some good men at the Court were very sensible; and the Lord Treasurer wrote to Secretary Walsingham about it; who thereupon procured letters from the Council to the Bishop and the Mayor, that they would use all means to make the strangers better liked of in London: an account of which Walsingham gave to the Treasurer in these words: "That he was sorry to find by his "Lordship's letters, that the repair of the poor afflicted "strangers was so greatly grudged at, seeing for their sakes "(for that God had used this realm as a sanctuary for them) "he had bestowed so many extraordinary blessings upon "us; and that both the Bishop and the Mayor had re- "ceived letters from the Board, to use all good means that "might be, to remove the dislike of the vulgar sort." This letter was written November 4, 1585; and the Bishop, who himself was once an exile for religion, no question heartily espoused this business.

Holds a visitation.

In the summer of the year 1586, the Bishop went his next triennial visitation, to take account in what state the Ministers and people of his diocese were; and had, as it seems, some intimation from the Queen, especially to have regard to those that dissented from the established order,

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who now were reported to her to be very strong in their numbers, and to act very disorderly in some parts of Essex.

Visits in London.

He held his visitation in London, May the 22d. Then the Ministers there were enjoined the observation of these articles. 1. To use prayers Wednesdays and Fridays. 2. To read and preach such sermons and homilies as were proper to move compassion to the poor. 3. To make contributions among themselves at free choice according to their abilities, without laying any taxation upon them. This I suppose was a season of sickness or dearth. 4. Presentment to be made of negligent recusants.

Goes into Essex.

From thence he repaired into Essex; but he found as he went along the disorders were not so great as was feared, though more (as he confessed in a letter to a great friend at Court) than were to be wished, until he came to Malden; where, as he expressed in the same letter, he had like to have tasted of the sour fruits of the new reformers, and especially of such as were mercenary; that is, such as were retained to preach in divers places, besides the ordinary Ministers. A certain fellow, to be hired by some young heads in the town, tradesmen there, was to have come into the church besmeared like a fool, and to have taken the Bishop's cap off from his head, and having twirled it about his finger, to have cast and tossed it to and fro among them in the midst of the people. But by some means this came to knowledge, and was seasonably prevented: which if it had not, there was no doubt but a dangerous tumult would have risen, and, as the Bishop feared, not without blood. The Bishop examined the matter, and having found out the chief devisers of it, committed them. The bailiffs and the rest were much dismayed at it. The Bishop did advise hereupon, that her Majesty, or some of the Lords of the Council, would shew some countenance of misliking of so dangerous a device as the fruits of those men's preachings, who disobeyed the book and other orders; whereby, as by the Bishop's present proceedings they were daunted, and began to yield, so the Bishop doubted not then to find

A strange rudeness intended against the Bishop at Malden.

them and all others in that corner very tractable. This happened in July.

Goes to Wickham.

The Bishop retreated from his adventures at Malden to Wickham, where he had a manor, to which was a fair large house annexed, formerly the seat of the Bishops of London, for the government of those parts of the country. But now it had been granted away from the manor by some means or other; perhaps some long lease made by some of this Bishop's predecessors to the Queen, as it seems: so that the Bishops, when they came into these parts, had no house for them and their companies to reside in: whereby the people of that country was deprived of the benefit of their Bishop's influence and care in dwelling sometimes among them. The house was large and spacious; the farmer who now occupied it had but a small family; so that a great part of the house might well be spared. This therefore the Bishop had a desire of, and made interest with the Queen for her gracious letters to have some portion of the house for a month or two in the year; not only because the house went to ruin so greatly, as if he had not some part thereof, thereby to repair it, it would be ever hereafter unfit for any Bishop to tarry in; but chiefly, because he doubted not but within short space to bring all the whole country into so good an order, as any other part of his diocese whatsoever, both in respect of disordered persons, as such as were of lewd conversation. As his being at his house at Hadham some small time in the year had made by this time all the country of Hertfordshire (before out of order) now to be most quiet and orderly.

Dr. Aylmer, Archdeacon, visits.

The Bishop's pious and painful son, Dr. Theophilus Aylmer, now Archdeacon of London, the 6th of January ensuing, called for the Clergy, (as he frequently used to do,) intending this meeting chiefly for such Ministers as were not preachers, but of the inferior sort: for the bringing forward of which were these particulars enjoined. 1. Every person to have a Bible in English and Latin. 2. Every person to have Bullinger's Decads. 3. Each to have his paper book, and therein to write the quantity of one sermon every week.

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4. This book to be shewn quarterly unto a certain grave man appointed to examine how they had profited, and he to deliver them to Mr. Archdeacon. 5. The examinants to use these beginners with favour. 6. Every non-preaching Minister to be taxed at four purchased sermons every year; that is, to procure at his own cost a preacher to preach a sermon in his church once in a quarter. 7. A licensed preacher to preach sixteen times in a year. Within two months after, the diligent Archdeacon summoned the Clergy again, *viz.* March the 8th; that is, the preachers and learneder sort; enjoining them, 1. To observe carefully the Book of Common Prayer. 2. To catechize youth Sundays and holydays. And this was now allowed to Curates to do; and that in certain questions and answers set forth by the Bishop: as namely, Who made you? God. Who redeemed you? Jesus Christ, &c. and so on, as little children are now commonly and commendably taught by their parents to this day. 3. Every man to shew his letters of orders and licence to preach immediately. And lastly, several who had taken the degrees of Masters of Art, or Bachelors of Art, were enjoined to procure the Bishop's licence to preach. This and the former call was for this end; to increase the number of preachers, according to a mandate from the Archbishop to all the Bishops.

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Cawdry's case, who was deprived and deposed from the ministry.

Cawdry of Luffenham cited before the Commission.

IN the year 1587, I find the Bishop again sitting in the ecclesiastical Commission; where he executed a judicial act, that created him, and others with him, work for four or five years after: and because I shall set it down more distinctly, let me obtain excuse for the length of it. There was one Robert Cawdry, that having been a schoolmaster for seven or eight years, afterwards got the favour of the Lord Burgh-

ley to be presented to the living of South Loughnam, or Luffenham, in Rutlandshire: where after he had spent sixteen years, he was convented before the Commission, and in fine deprived by our Bishop: for there was preferred secretly an information against him for speaking divers words in the pulpit, tending to the depraving of the Book of Common Prayer. The Commission gave him his oath, according to the practice of those spiritual courts, to answer interrogatories that should be propounded to him, for the clearing of himself if he could do it. Then he attended ten weeks upon the Commissioners, but proved altogether incompliant; and so being judged a dangerous person, if he should continue preaching, by infecting the people with principles different from the religion established, at length the Bishop himself gave the definitive sentence May the 30th, there sitting then with him, Dr. Valentine Dale, Sir Owen Hopton, Kt., William Fleetwood, Sergeant at Law, William Aubrey and Edward Stanhope, Doctors of Law, his colleagues. In the aforesaid sentence there was added a second cause of his deprivation; namely, for not conforming himself in the celebration of the divine service and administration of the Sacraments, but refusing so to do; though indeed for the most part he did conform himself to the book, only leaving out the cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage. The Bishop also, besides his deprivation, suspended him from exercising any ministry in Luffenham or elsewhere.

The Bishop deprives him.

But Cawdry thought himself hardly and unjustly dealt withal, and therefore acquiesced not in his sentence, nor would submit himself. However the Commissioners had in March following sent their letters to the Bishop of Peterborough, to send his ordinary process to Luffenham church, and to give intimation to the Lord Burghley to present another; yet he still kept possession and held the living, styling himself in his letters, "Minister and Pastor of South "Luffenham." Upon which disobedience he was also degraded by the Commissioners at Lambeth, as well as he had been deprived before in the consistory of Paul's. And

Cawdry refuses to submit to the sentence.

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there were two things charged upon him by the Commission, why he should not be restored; *viz.* want of learning, and not using the Common Prayer Book in that due exactness as he should.

His lawyers' arguments.

On Cawdry's side the question was, whether he were rightly deprived. If the Commissioners proceeded upon the statute primo Elizabeth, then it was argued by his lawyers, that he was not legally deprived; for that statute limited deprivation to be a punishment for a second offence, and not for the first, as Cawdry's case was. James Morice, Attorney of the Court of Wards, held this sentence to be null and void in law for these reasons: because his Lordship, the Bishop of London, was not Ordinary of the diocese where the benefice lay; and that it was his sentence only, and not of the rest of the Commissioners. But to that it would be said, that the rest that were present and assisting concurred also in the sentence. Whereunto he replied, (which was his second argument,) that it was not the sentence of the Commissioners; for by law the sentence should have been given in the name of all the Commissioners present, and not in the name of one by the others' consent, as it seems the sentence ran. Again, the Bishop in his decree said expressly, the cause was controverted before him *in judicio ex officio mero*, which could not be before the Commissioners; and if the cause were depending before his Lordship as proceeding *ex officio*, how could the judgment, said he, be other than his own?

James Morice his lawyer.

And then as for the sentence itself, or the matter of it, that he held to be contrary to law; because there were by law several censures and punishments to be inflicted in that case before deprivation, which was the last; as namely, admonition, excommunication, sequestration. But this sentence at the first inflicted the last and extremest punishment; which was not warrantable by the statute, nor any other of the Queen's ecclesiastical laws.

This was the substance of a paper which the said Morice, a good friend to Cawdry, and that stuck close to him, writ in Cawdry's behalf upon the Lord Treasurer Burghley's de-

sire; who, upon that Minister's suit to him, had a compassion for the man, having a wife and eight children. CHAP. VIII.

A year was now spent in this cause, and in May 1588 Cawdry laboured to vindicate himself in the two points laid to his charge by the Bishop; namely, concerning his learning, and concerning his using the Book of Common Prayer. To satisfy the Lord Burghley (whom he styled his patron) in both these, as to the former, he shewed him that (besides his teaching a grammar school formerly) he had weekly used some exercise of learning, in expounding to the people some places of holy Scripture now for the space of almost twenty years; and he hoped in so many years' study in the school and in the Church, God hath blessed him with some small measure of knowledge. He appealed to the people, and the good success of his ministry; which was, he said, a great comfort to his soul; and he desired the said Lord to appoint him to read upon some place of Scripture in his own hearing, and he was in some good hope his Lordship should not find him so utterly unfit to do any good in the service of the Church. He confessed in very truth, that in respect of his great calling he was much unfit, for want of ability in learning, to supply that sacred function; and therefore wished with all his heart, that he were the most unlearned Minister in England, on this condition, that he might give over the same, and never to meddle with it again, even to-day before to-morrow. But it was some comfort to him, that God in mercy had so blessed his labours, that of so few people there was not a parish within ten miles and more of him, that knew better how to give unto God that which was due to God, and to Cæsar that which was due to him. Vindicates his abilities in learning.

As for the other objection against him, he declared that he had always used the Common Prayer, and purposed to use it still; only he humbly craved that he might not be more narrowly searched and looked into in the using of it, than many other Ministers were throughout England. Urges his using the Common Prayer.

Thus far on Cawdry's side: but in truth to know how Cawdry stood affected may be learned from the process it- The reason of his sentence.

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self. He was convicted upon his own confession, publicly in his sermon to have depraved the Book of Common Prayer, saying, that the same was a *vile book*, and *fy upon it;* and that he had not observed the order of the said book in his ministration. For this he was divers and sundry times moved, commanded, and enjoined, publicly to retract and revoke his said words, and to acknowledge the book to be good and godly, and to promise to observe the order thereof in his future ministration; but this he wilfully refused. The Court long expected his conformity; that is, from December 1586, to May the 30th 1687: which he not performing was then deprived.

Which he would not abide by. And why.

The very next day he acquainted the Lord Burghley with the sentence passed against him, and only craved that by his favour he might enjoy his benefice till Michaeltide next, as he called it; (not liking, I suppose, to name it Michaelmas;) and intending quietly to relinquish it. But afterwards, by the instigation of certain persons, he found fault with the sentence as unjust, and refused to submit to it, and prayed the favour and assistance of the said Lord. But that noble personage advised him to submit himself to the determination of the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. But this now he would not do; and in a letter to that Lord, dated March 22, 1587, gave his reasons why he would not abide by their award; *viz.* "Because he was "persuaded in his conscience, and lamentable experience "proved it, that these Lord Bishops after a sort, though not "directly, were the greatest enemies her Majesty had this "day in England: for that they had been, and yet were, "the greatest lets of a learned ministry. Through lack "whereof her Majesty's subjects, in six parishes for one "through her dominions, were yet as ignorant of the right "knowledge of their obedience towards God and her Ma-"jesty, as though they had lived under Popery. For had "it been possible, said he, that such a riotous rout of re-"bels could have been assembled together, and that in one "corner of this realm, as were assembled together not many "years ago, (*viz.* anno 1569,) against her Majesty in the

His letter to the Lord Burghley.

" north parts; or that so many treasons and conspiracies " could have come to that height as they were, if so be that " every parish had a faithful and learned Pastor, by preach- " ing and catechizing to beat into their heads continually " what obedience faithful subjects owe, first to God, and next " to their Prince; which might have been brought to some " good effect or this, if they had not so countenanced non- " residents, and made so many idle shepherds; and besides, " if they had not dealt so extremely against so many godly " Ministers, in displacing them for not observing some " Popish ceremonies. That this was most true, that gene- " rally throughout England, where most need was of the " best Ministers, there were the worst. That for his part he " did not know in any country where there was a preaching " Minister placed in that town where a recusant was: so " that Jesuits, seminaries, and Popish priests, might have " there free egress and regress without any check, which was " very dangerous to the State; besides the great hindrance " of knowledge to obey God and the Prince, that otherwise " might there be planted.

" A second cause was, for that the Bishops punished most " rigorously godly Ministers, (whom they could not justly " touch either with false doctrine or any misbehaviour in " life,) for not observing the Book of Common Prayer; and " yet they themselves, for the most part these twenty-nine " years had not observed it: as, first, in granting licences for " money to marry without the banns asking; secondly, in " making insufficient Ministers; and thirdly, in not confirm- " ing of children, as the book appointed: and yet by that " order, they that were inferior Ministers were charged, that " they should not admit any to receive the Communion, " until such time as they were confirmed by the Bishop. " Whereby they fell into two extremes, either to offend " God, or the book: for if they were able to examine them- " selves, and give a reason of their faith, they, the Ministers, " might not deny them the Communion: but the book said " otherwise. Now seeing they omitted this, because they " knew it was a Popish ceremony, and not warrantable by

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" God's word; he demanded then, with what conscience " they could deal so hardly with them for leaving out some " ceremonies more superstitious and offensive than this.

" Thirdly, for that they would allow any Papist, atheist, " and what wicked liver soever, that was convented before " them, to know their accuser, to have a copy, for their mo- " ney, of the interrogatories and other proceedings; but " they, the Ministers, could neither know their accusers, nor " yet have the benefit of subjects.

" Fourthly, for that they, the Bishops, condemned non- " residency to be horrible, odious to the people, and perni- " cious to the Church of God, and yet tolerated and dis- " pensed with the same; as by their book of Canons extant " in print, and agreed upon in the Convocation House 1571, " in these words, as his memory served him: *Absentia Pas-* " *toris à Dominico grege, et secura illa negligentia, quam* " *videmus in multis, et destitutio Ministerii, est res et in se* " *fœda, et odiosa in vulgus, et perniciosa Ecclesiæ Dei.*

" And lastly, for that they, the said Bishops, did molest, " nay, deprive them for preaching that doctrine which they " themselves had published in print, and was extant to be " seen." And then instanced in a book of the Bishop's of London, entitled, The Harborough of the Faithful: out of which the said Cawdry had transcribed as many passages as would fill half a sheet of paper, and sent them enclosed in his foresaid letter to the Lord Burghley.

Offers some kind of submission.

And these at length were the causes set down by himself, why he would not submit himself to the Archbishop and Bishop, as he was advised to do; yet afterwards, upon further suggestion of the forementioned Lord, he made at last a submission before the Archbishop, for the words he uttered concerning the Common Prayer. But a further submission he refused, *viz.* to submit himself to such orders as should be agreed concerning him; namely, to recant and retract publicly in the same place the words he was charged with, and to promise conformity to the laws established, and subscription to the Articles: which were such conditions, he said, as he dared not yield unto; being persuaded that

But will not recant publicly.

such a submission would be both contrary to God's word, and of great offence unto the Church.

Appears at Lambeth.

In May, on a Thursday, he appeared before the Commissioners at Lambeth, who told him with some threats, that seeing he would not comply, he must attend them two days after, and then be deprived of his ministry, (as he had been of his benefice before,) and be made a layman.

Degraded and deposed.

Yet they were so patient towards him, that this sentence was not executed upon him until a whole year after; namely, May the 14th, 1590: when, having been divers and sundry times advised and commanded to submit himself unto the former sentences, and to the Queen's laws, in the observation of the order of the book, but he had refused and denied to yield thereunto; wherefore on the same day, for the said contempt and disobedience, (as the instrument of the sentence ran,) the nature and merits of this cause being first duly considered, he was by sentence in writing degraded and deposed from the ministry by these Commissioners present; *viz.* Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Secretary Wolley, Mr. Fortescu, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Lord Chief Baron, Dr. Aubrey, the Dean of Westminster, the Attorney General, Dr. Cosin, Archdeacon Redman, Dr. Stanhop, Dr. Lewin, Dr. Bancroft. At this meeting the Archbishop told him, that if he would not conform himself and be obedient to law, they would deprive him of his ministry. Cawdry answered, that he never denied to conform himself so far as he was bound by law, and as a Minister of God in conscience was bound to do. Upon this, the Commissioners' Proctor said he was deprived for speaking against the Book of Common Prayer. Cawdry answered, it was not true; for that it appeared in his answer to the Articles upon his oath, that it was for speaking against an inconvenience that came by the book: but, added he, that if it were so in the worst manner that they could take it, yet it was no deprivation by law for the first offence; and that he should have been indicted at the next assizes after, which he was not, and therefore clear by statute.

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Upon this sentence the Bishop of Peterburgh, his diocesan, sequestered him from his benefice, who hitherto had enjoyed it, and supplied it with his Chaplain. To which Bishop the Lord Burghley, compassionating Cawdry's case and poverty, wrote, that he would, in consideration of his desolate state and great charge, allow him some yearly pension out of the living. Whereupon the Bishop made this offer to Cawdry, that if he would disclaim his title to the living, and resign it unto his hand to the use of his Chaplain, he would then consider of him. But Cawdry stopping upon terms, and requiring to know how and in what manner the Bishop would do it, they brake off. Cawdry desisted not, but took his course in the Star-chamber, and served subpœnas upon the Chaplain, and some others, upon pretence that they had committed a riot, in taking away by violence the corn that grew upon the glebe; and again desired the said Lord's favour in that court. On the other hand, the Chaplain laboured to bring him before the Commissioners; and got an order to be set down there against him, either to answer more fully, or to be committed to prison within eight days.

Bishop of Peterburgh sequesters his living.

Cawdry sues in the Star-chamber.

The next year, *viz.* May 1591, upon Cawdry's suit again to the Lord Burghley, he bade him consult with his counsel, by what course he might be relieved. Accordingly he did so: and they told him the way was, either that the Commissioners should revoke their sentence of deprivation, and so to restore him to his ministry; or, by his Lordship's means, to have a mandate procured for that end from the Queen; or else to be restored to the possession of his living, and so to follow his suit *in forma pauperis*, depending in the King's Bench, for the trial of his cause. But the moderate course the said Lord thought fittest to take was, to desire the Commissioners to consider the exceptions taken against their proceedings, and to review and reexamine this man's case; and so he prayed the Bishop of London to do, specially considering several particulars urged by Cawdry on his own behalf: but in truth misrepresented to that Lord against the Commissioners. Whereupon the Bishop of Lon-

The Lord Burghley recommends his case to the Bishop of London.

don wrote this letter unto the said Peer, relating the truth of the cause: CHAP. VIII.

The Bishop's letter to the said Lord.

" I received your Lordship's letter of the first of June, " upon the fourth of the same, touching Robert Cawdry, " late Parson of South Luffenham in the county of Rut- " land, and his deprivation from the said benefice by sen- " tence definitive of her Majesty's Commissioners for causes " ecclesiastical, together with a case drawn by himself, as it " seemeth, and subsigned by his learned counsel; wherein " how far he abuseth your Lordship may appear by this " enclosed brief, touching our proceedings against him. He " was detected unto us, not only for depraving the Book of " Common Prayer in such vile terms as in the said brief is " set down, but also for refusing to observe the orders by " the same book appointed. Which his speeches, he being " oftentimes by us judicially admonished to revoke, and to " observe the said orders, and he still refusing the same, " we in the end proceeded, as by law, and a proviso in the " end of the statute, mentioned by his learned counsel, we " hold it warrantable, to his deprivation.

" Where your Lordship further writeth to pray the Com- " missioners to review and examine the said sentence, and " to consider of the exceptions by him proposed to the same, " your Lordship shall find in the enclosed brief a further " judicial proceeding against him, whereat were present " some of the judges of the land, and of her Majesty's " learned Council; wherein, for that he persevered in his " disobedience, whereof he was convicted upon his own con- " fession, for not submitting himself to the former sentence " of deprivation, and for continuing in refusal of observa- " tion of her Majesty's laws, touching the use of the orders " of the Book of Common Prayer, he was by sentence de- " finitive in writing degraded and deposed from his min- " istry. So as there is now no colour for him to desire re- " view of the former sentence touching his deprivation; " when as the same is by a second sentence confirmed, and " he utterly unabled and removed from the ministry. These " proceedings, I hope, will justly move your good Lord-

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" ship not to give credit unto the complaints of such disor-
" dered men as he is, whom it seemeth no due course of
" law will anywise content. And so I commit your good
" Lordship to God's holy protection."

The proviso mentioned by the Bishop in the letter before, as warranting their doing, is in the statute of *anno primo;* whereby is given unto the Archbishop, Bishop, and other ordinaries, power and authority to inquire in their visitations, synods, &c. to take accusations and informations of such offences, and to punish the same by admonition, excommunication, sequestration, or deprivation, and other censures and proceedings in like form, as heretofore had been used in like cases by the Queen's ecclesiastical laws.

Cawdry's counsellor's angry advice.

But James Morice, Cawdry's friend and counsellor, advised in some heat, that his Lordship would make the Bishop feel and understand his lawless proceedings, whereby (as he said) haply some remorse of conscience might move him to be more favourable; and added, that though it might be offensive to find fault with judicial proceedings, he considered also the present time and persons, and had little hope to do any good by that course of reexamining; yet, seeking to help the wronged, and to maintain law and justice, and to make ecclesiastical judges more careful hereafter, he thought it unseemly in men of his profession to be afraid of every frown; especially having, as he assured himself, the law to take his part.

Dr. Aubrey's judgment of the case.

In the same year, *viz.* July 1591, the Lord Burghley sent certain papers concerning Cawdry's case, drawn up by the aforesaid Morice, to prove the course taken against him unlawful, to Dr. Aubrey, a learned civilian, and indeed one of the Commissioners; that he would send back his impartial judgment thereupon, laying aside the consideration of himself as a Commissioner. And Aubrey accordingly wrote his opinion learnedly and modestly, as followeth; for I choose rather to transcribe his letter, than contract the substance of it.

" My duty to your good Lordship humbly remembered.

" I make bold to return to your Lordship such writings as " it pleased your Lordship to deliver unto me, touching the " removing of Cawdry from the parsonage of Luffenham " in the county of Rutland, and his deposing from the min- " istry ; which for the duty I owe to your good Lordship " I have perused, and according to my poor skill considered; " and dispossessing myself, as I could, of all affection that I " should bear to the maintenance of a sentence wherein, " among other, myself is a party, I make bold to impart to " your good Lordship my opinion simply, as I think and " can conceive of the cause. First, if either the Commis- " sioners were bound by the Commission to proceed accord- " ing to the statute of *anno primo*, or had in any part of " their proceedings expressed that they meant to proceed " only according to the order and form appointed in that " statute ; or if the statute were so straining, as the Com- " missioners were tied to proceed according to the form of " that statute, and no otherwise, (as I take it not to be,) it " is true that is delivered to your Lordship by Cawdry's " counsel, that the sentence is not justifiable by the precise " letter of the statute. But the law ecclesiastical being in " such force for manner of proceeding as it was before the " making of that statute, and the Commission warranting " the Commissioners to proceed according to the law eccle- " siastical, or according to their sound discretions, all the " principal force of the reasons alleged to ground a nullity " in the sentence is taken away. And where the sentence is " impugned, because the Bishop of London did read the " sentence *cum consensu collegarum suorum*, whatsoever " the temporal law is in that point, it is most agreeable to " the law civil and canon, that where there is a multitude " of judges, one shall be the instrument in the pronouncing " with the consent of the rest ; and it is a matter absurd, " and not possible, that all shall concur in the act of read- " ing. And that hath been in this realm the usual form, " and no other, of all sentences in proceedings and causes " ecclesiastical.

" As for the degradation and deposing of Mr. Cawdry

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" from the ministry, the temporal law of the realm taketh " no knowledge thereof; and yet the Chief Justice of the " Common Pleas, the Lord Chief Baron, and the Queen's " Attorney, were there, and gave their consents. And it is " of that nature, that until he be restored, he is not capable " of any other benefice ecclesiastical; and was [so censured,] " not only for lack of his conformity to the sentence, but " for that he refused to conform himself to the observation " of her Majesty's laws, and of the order of the book, in " sundry particular points: however, in general words he " pretendeth that he will be obedient. Thus praying your " good Lordship to take this my short plain answer in good " part, I humbly take my leave of your good Lordship.

" Your good Lordship's humbly
" at commandment,
" WILLIAM AUBREY."

" From London,
" this 18th July, 1591."

The statute urged by Cawdry's counsel.

That sentence of *anno primo* of the Queen, which Cawdry's counsel so much urged to render the sentence of deprivation null, was this, that it appointed the punishment for depraving the Book of Common Prayers, or refusing to say or use the said Common Prayers, or to minister the Sacraments, after lawful conviction according to the laws of this realm, by verdict of twelve men, by confession, or notorious evidence of the fact; for the first offence, to be only the loss of the profits of his benefice for one year, and six months' imprisonment; and after the first conviction, if a second offence be committed, and a lawful conviction had, then a year's imprisonment with deprivation *ipso facto*. But this decree or definitive sentence inflicted deprivation for the first offence, leaving no time for the second conviction, nor punishment for a second offence.

Offered to be restored to his ministry upon subscription.

And thus at last this long process seemed to be ended, (at least I know no more of it,) which was in hand four years and seven months, and cost Cawdry one or two and twenty journeys to London. The last particular I meet

with in this tedious suit was, that the aforesaid nobleman requested that this man might be restored to his ministry; which Dr. Lewin and Dr. Aubrey acquainted the Archbishop with: who answered, he was willing to do it, if he would subscribe to certain Articles, as other Ministers did: which had been offered to him several times before, both by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London. But that Cawdry would not be brought to do: neither could the advice of his said noble intercessor prevail with him.

CHAP. IX.

His contest with one Maddocks. Smith, the Preacher at St. Clement's, suspended. A visitation. Dyke, of St. Albans, forbid preaching. Cartwright the Puritan. Sir Denys Roghan. The see of Oxford void.

THESE transactions with Cawdry have carried me forward three or four years, that I might lay my whole narrative thereof together. I must therefore go back again, having some other things to relate, wherein our Bishop was concerned.

The occasion of a contest between the Bishop and Maddocks.

In April 1588, he happened to have a ruffle with a mad blade named Maddocks, who had married a gentleman's daughter of Fulham. This man was of a turbulent hot head, and made great stirs in that town: and the same Maddocks, I suppose, of whom Sir John Harrington relates, how that this Bishop once told him, that his name expressed his nature, and that he was one of the *madest* beasts that ever he talked with. He happened to have a contest with the Bishop about some private matters; as concerning the right of a pew in Fulham church; and with the townsmen about a passage to a ground of the Bishop's. Martin Marprelate brings in another cause yet of these dissensions, namely, from the Bishop's taking part with his man, who being executor to the will of somebody dwelling in Fulham, detained the payment of a legacy given therein to a poor

Brief view of the state of the Church.

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shepherd: whereat Maddocks advised the shepherd to bring his case into the Court of Requests, where he had some office, thinking probably thereby to draw some blemish upon the Bishop. And when the matter was indeed moved in that Court, the Bishop wrote to the Masters of the Requests, that they would discharge his man, and he would see agreement made; which nevertheless that Court yielded not to: and the Bishop knowing Maddocks, the man that upheld the shepherd, sent for him; who coming, angry words happened. These matters argued *pro* and *con* created more and more difference; insomuch that divers frays happened between Maddocks and the Bishop's servants, who would not hear their master abused. One of these happened when he and his wife were walking together. Maddocks makes the first complaint, and puts up a petition to the Privy Council, (enclosed in a letter to the Lord Treasurer,) therein relating particularly the injuries pretended to be done him by the Bishop and his followers, desiring his case might be heard before his Lordship and the Queen's honourable Council; which, he said, no mean justice would do, because the Bishop was, by her Majesty's advancement, in such dignity: and that in the mean time he might have a warrant from his Lordship to apprehend the Bishop's *cutters*, as he called them, until the matter had a hearing. He added, that his wife was with child as he thought, and rested since the last assault (wherein he was wounded) in very hard case: that that assault was in the view of the Bishop: that when he complained thereof to him, he gave him reproachful words: that for his part, he had given no cause to his knowledge. He represented his case as desperate, either to lose his own life, or, by the loss of the life of some of the Bishop's base followers, to hazard his poor estate; which was the thing, he said, the Bishop desired.

Maddocks complains to the Council.

Upon this the good Lord Treasurer sent to the Bishop, praying him to order his men to do no injury to Maddocks. To whom the Bishop presently sent answer, that he had given warning to his servants not to meddle with Maddocks: nor needed he to fear that his men should offer him

The Bishop relates the case.

any injury, nor hitherto had done, but when he and two of his men had picked out their match to assault one of his men, three against one. And yet, said the Bishop, as he understood, his single man housed them all. But that he, minded to see the peace kept, sent for both him, his men, and his own servant: but Maddocks refused to come to him. The Bishop upon this occasion thought fit moreover to give this Lord a little taste of the good dealing of the man: as 1. He made a fray upon his father's man, (as well as upon his,) and wounded him in the head with some peril, and he himself had his head broken for his labour: which blood-shedding was to be examined at the next leet. 2. He charged some belonging to his father with felony; which proved but a rage of humour, and nothing else. 3. He wrangled with the whole town [of Fulham] about a passage to a ground of his, [the Bishop's,] wherein he thought in his conscience he did them wrong. 4. He found means in the Court of Requests to cast an honest husbandman of the said town into the Fleet, greatly to his damage and hurt. 5. Upon Easter-day last he came in warlike manner with rapier and target to Fulham church, when the Bishop and all his men were at the Court; and there thrust in his mother and his sister into the Bishop's wife's seat, and troubled his daughters, being come to receive the Communion. The Bishop added, that he bragged that he disdained to fight with any of his men; but if he [the Bishop himself] would hold up his finger, he would be with him at host. That his father-in-law was an honest gentleman, but could do nothing with him, and his rash head since he came there troubled all the town. And lastly, as to the late fray, he told his Lordship that he might well consider that if Maddocks abused him behind his back, his men would hardly bear it at his hands. And indeed the Bishop himself, who was a man of metal, and could use his hands well, would perhaps not well have liked it, if they should.

Maddocks submits.

In fine, Maddocks had so rudely behaved himself towards the Bishop, that at last it came before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other Bishops assisting;

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who found the matter so ill on Maddocks's part, that he was content before them to ask him forgiveness, and to promise that he would ever after have a reverent regard of his duty toward the said Bishop, as his ordinary.

Smith, Lecturer of St. Clement's.

Mr. Henry Smith, an eloquent and a witty man, had the last year, *viz.* 1587, become Reader or Lecturer at St. Clement Danes without Temple-Bar, at the desire of many of the parishioners, and by the favour of the Lord Treasurer, who dwelt in the said parish, and yielded contribution to him. This is the Smith whose sermons have been a common family book even to this day, and often reprinted. He was the son of a gentleman of Leicestershire, and bred for a little while in Oxford: but desiring to spend more time there, his father, whatever the reason was, would not yield unto his suit. Soon after his coming from Oxford, he lived and followed his studies with Richard Greenham, a pious Minister in the country, but not thoroughly affected to the orders of the Church established; and his principles he seemed to have infused into Smith. The Lord Treasurer took notice of the man, especially when he put in for the preacher's place in the parish of St. Clement's. Therefore he obtained a testimonial and character from Greenham to the said Lord: to whom, after some preface in his letter, as considering his Honour's place, and rare wisdom in discerning of gifts, and his own unmeetness to commend, and that there were many better means to inform himself, which he might have; at length he thus wrote of him, "That he would "not speak of his human literature, whereof he supposed "Smith himself had given him [the Lord Treasurer] some "small token, (he meant, I suppose, by a sermon preached "before him,) but he had perceived him to have been well "exercised in the holy Scriptures, religious and devout in "mind, moderate and sober in opinions and affection, dis-"creet and temperate in his behaviour, industrious in his "studies and affairs, and, as he hoped, of an humble spirit "and upright heart, joined with the fervent zeal of the "glory of God and health of souls. Which mixture of "God's gifts put him in hopes, that God hereafter might

Greenham's account of him to the Treasurer.

" be much glorified in him; specially if he might have tar- CHAP. IX.
" ried in the University until his gifts were grown unto
" some more maturity. In which particular, he added, he
" had earnestly dealt with him unto the same end, [and so
" had the Lord Treasurer,] but he still answered that he
" could not obtain that favour of his father."

In short he was permitted to read (that is, to preach a lecture) at St. Clement's, where one Harewood was now Parson. But the next year, being the year 1588, our Bishop, being informed that he had spoken in his sermon some words derogatory to the Common Prayer, neither had subscribed the Articles, wherein was contained the approbation of the said book, suspended him from preaching a while. His own case he drew up briefly for the information, it seems, of the Lord Treasurer; which was as follows: The Bishop suspends him.

Reasons objected and alleged by the Bishop of London against Henry Smith, Preacher of St. Clement's without Temple-Bar, as causes for which he hath proceeded to the suspension of the said Henry from the exercise of his ministry.

I. That I was chosen by a popular election, as his Lordship termeth it, that is, by the Minister and congregation, without his Lordship's licence. The reasons why.

II. That I have preached against the Book of Common Prayer.

III. That I have not yielded my subscription to certain Articles which his Lordship required at my hands.

Mine answer to the same.

" First, touching my calling thither, I was recommended His answer to them.
" to the parish by certain godly preachers, which had heard
" me preach in other places in this city; and thereupon ac-
" cepted of by the parish, and entertained with a stipend
" raised by voluntary contribution: in which sort they had
" heretofore entertained others without any such question
" or exception. Secondarily, his Lordship calling me to

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" preach at Paul's Cross never moved any such question to " me. Nevertheless, if any error have been committed " herein either by me or the parish, through ignorance, our " joint desire is to have his Lordship's good allowance and " approbation for the exercise of my function in his Lord- " ship's diocese.

" Touching the second, however his Lordship hath been " informed against me, I never used speech in any of my " sermons against the said Book of Common Prayer; " whereof the parish doth bear me witness in this supplica- " tion to your Lordship.

" Concerning the third, I refuse not to subscribe to any " Articles, which the law of the realm doth require of men " of my calling: acknowledging with all humbleness and " loyalty her Majesty's sovereignty in all causes, and over " all persons within her Highness's dominions; and yield- " ing my full consent to all the Articles of faith and doc- " trine taught and ratified in this Church, according to " a statute in that behalf provided the thirteenth year of " her Majesty's reign. And therefore beseech his Lordship " not to urge upon me any other subscription than the law " of God and the laws positive of this realm do require."

Certain of the parish sue to the LordBurghley for Smith to be their Minister.

If he subscribed not afterwards, yet he seemed to have given some satisfaction to the Bishop for his continuance in his place till the year 1589; when, upon the dangerous sickness of Harewood the incumbent, divers of the parish petitioned the Lord Treasurer, that in case he died, Mr. Smith their preacher might succeed him. And being departed this life, they renewed their petition, signed with the hands of divers of St. Clement's and Lion's Inns, and the two churchwardens, the one a grocer, the other a locksmith, and a good number besides of ordinary tradesmen, as smiths, tailors, saddlers, hosiers, haberdashers, glaziers, cutlers, and such like, most of them setting their marks. The petition was somewhat rude, as were the men from whom it came: for it expressed, " That if there were any towards his " Lordship, whom his Honour affected, and was willing to " prefer thereunto, they most humbly and instantly impor-

" tuned his Lordship [notwithstanding to lay them aside, " and] to prefer Mr. Smith in this, and them some other " way, as his Lordship had many. And in behalf of them- " selves they set forth, that [if this might be obtained] then " Mr. Smith's living should be ascertained, [which was but " precarious before,] and they eased of his stipend, [and so " a charge taken from them,] and their desires satisfied " in enjoying him for their Parson. In fine, giving this " character of him, that his preaching, living, and sound " doctrine, had done more good among them, than any " other that had gone before, or, which they doubted, could " follow after." But notwithstanding, I scarce think these men, nor their reasons, were of strength to prevail with the Treasurer.

An abusive book against the King of Spain.

The care of the press lay also upon the Bishop; and complaint was made to him in the year 1589, in April, by the Lord Treasurer, concerning a piece that was now come abroad. The matter was this. After the Spaniards were so shamefully defeated at sea the last year, and their Invincible Armada came to nothing, as thanks and praise was given to God by the devout sort, so lighter minds set themselves to exercise their wits in the abuse of that proud nation, not sparing King Philip himself. One pamphlet of this sort in foolish rhyme was dispersed in London about this time; which gave offence to the said Lord, and, as it seems, to the Queen herself: for the persons of Princes are sacred, and that great statesman ever spake reverently of them; nor was it thought advisable to provoke that Prince. Whereupon he sent to the Bishop to know who presumed to print it. The Bishop was of the same judgment, and said, that in his opinion it had been better to have thanked God than to have insulted upon men; and especially upon Princes: and that he marvelled that they of Oxford (where it was first printed by Jos. Barnes) should suffer such toys to be set forth by their authority: and that he had found Toby Cook printed it at London without licence, and he would talk with him about it.

The Bishop sent unto, to find the printer.

The diligent Bishop was now very aged, near seventy

Visits.

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years of age; and yet, according to his constant practice, went this year 1589, his triennial visitation, which he held at London, August 30. Now among other injunctions, the Clergy there were required, 1. To give God public thanks for the French King's victory. 2. That they be ready with furniture according to the proportion assigned them; that is, with arms for the Queen's defence, who was now in daily apprehension of the enraged Spaniard, since their shameful defeat the last summer.

Suspends Dyke of St. Albans.

At St. Albans in Hertfordshire was placed somewhile ago one Dyke for preacher; and that in some measure by the means of the Lord Treasurer, who dwelt not far off: for he had recommended him to the Bishop of London to allow him; and because he was but Deacon, and somewhat suspected of nonconformity, the said Lord promised the Bishop, that if he troubled the congregation with innovation, he would join with the Bishop in punishing him. But now in November 1589, the Bishop stayed him from preaching for troubling his auditory with new opinions and notions, thwarting the established religion [d]. But Dyke had gained a great vogue among that ordinary sort of people; who therefore made their application to the said noble person, that he would prevail with the Bishop that he might be restored to his ministry. And in compliance with their suit the kind Lord writ to the Bishop about Dyke, and the interest made for him; and desired to know upon what cause he had forbidden him the pulpit. The Bishop readily gave these reasons for it: *viz.* That he was only Deacon, and so had continued many years, refusing and disallowing of the ministry of the Church of England, and the priesthood, as the book called it, which Dyke, I suppose, reckoned Popish. That the people, if they listed, might be sufficiently instructed by one Mr. Williams, a grave preacher and better learned, without new-fangled innovations, wherewith the other did exceedingly keep them occupied: and added, he thought it necessary to have him there. That Dyke was and had been charged with ill-favoured matters

Gives his reasons for so doing.

[d] See Additions, Numb. IV.

of incontinency, schisms, and disorders, and withstanding of orders given from the Lords of the Privy Council; whereof he had not yet purged himself, and therefore not to be retained in the Church. He added, that the multitudes of supplicants for him were of the meanest and basest sort, "dubbed," as he expressed it, "with the title of yeomanry." But instead of all other reasons, he urged that he could not in conscience tolerate him, who was not full Minister, nor would be, lest by that means he should seem to join with him in misliking and disallowing of our sacred ministry. And thus hoping that his Lordship, in consideration of the premises and many other reasons which he omitted, would be content to bear with him, though he bore not with Dyke, he took his leave of his Lordship, praying God to bless him with health and a just care of the peace of the Church, as hitherto he had done.

Cartwright in the Fleet appears before the Bishop.

Thomas Cartwright, the head Puritan, lay now in the Fleet, having been in the year 1590 summoned up from Warwick into the Star-chamber, together with Edmund Snape, and divers other Puritan Ministers, for setting up a new discipline and a new form of worship; and subscribing their hands to stand to it[e]: which therefore was interpreted an opposition and disobedience to the established laws. In May 1591, Cartwright lying now in the Fleet, was sent for by the Bishop to appear before him and Dr. Bancroft, and some others of the ecclesiastical Commission: and being brought into a chamber of the Bishop's house, he in a long speech directed himself unto him. He first charged him in abusing the Privy Council by informing them of his diseases, wherewith indeed he was not troubled: for Cartwright had lately sued to them for his liberty from the Fleet upon pretence of his gout and sciatica: which it seems was more in pretence than truth. Secondly, that as he had abused the Council, so he with others, in a supplication, had abused her Majesty, in suggesting that the oath that was tendered to them was not according to law, and that it was given generally without limitation: meaning the oath

Who expostulates with him.

[e] See Appendix, Numb. V.

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which the ecclesiastical Commissioners offered to those that came before them. Thirdly, that he had confessed twice or thrice before that time, that a man might be saved in observing the orders of the Church established by the laws of the land, and in consequence thereupon he charged him with the vanity and fruitlessness of seeking a further reformation: adding moreover, that in the greatest matters he and others contended for, they were of the same opinion that the Papists were of; as partly, he said, appeared by the answers of some of his party that were a few days ago at Lambeth before the Archbishop and the Commissioners there: whereas what agreement was between the Papists and the Bishops (which that party was so apt to lay to their charge) was at most but in some small ceremonies, and they but indifferent, till established by law. And these were some of his expostulations and dealings in commission with Cartwright.

The Bishop's house vexed with an Irish Priest.

In many passages past of this our history we may have seen, that our Bishop had no great pleasure in his advancement to the bishopric. And he being of a quick and somewhat hasty spirit became the more uneasy. I shall mention one passage more, (besides what is before mentioned,) that put him into a discomposure, and seemed in truth to have been a thing put upon him by some of his back-friends to disturb him. It was often practised by the Privy Council to commit to the Bishops persons of quality or learning, to whose charge matters of treason or breach of laws had been laid; that by their conversation and learned discourses and persuasions, the other might be gained and reclaimed, lying under an easy restraint in their houses. But about the month of April 1592, the Council sent to our Bishop a certain extravagant Irish Priest named Sir Denys Roghan, or Rowghane, and a woman, pretended to be his wife; the Bishop called her his *housewife*. These he was to maintain in meat, drink, and lodging, at his house; how long he knew not. The man had little to recommend him, being of a loose turbulent conversation. The woman had a great belly, (which the Bishop called, *her being bagged*,)

and was like perhaps to lay her burden within the Bishop's house: and then he must also provide for her nurses and other necessaries. This Priest had lived in Spain, and seemed to have been privy to the conspiracies between Spain and the wild Irish against the Queen, and an actor in the disturbances and rebellions of that people. But now, upon some disgust taken against his party, came over, or was sent over, to discover their practices; for which he expected not only pardon but reward: for he carried himself insolently in the Bishop's family, and required great observance of him and his, from the Bishop and his people. When he removed with his family to Fulham, Sir Denys would not stir from the Bishop's house at London; and made such a revel rout there, that the Bishop and his servants were perfectly afraid of him.

Sues to be rid of him.

He was therefore not without cause highly displeased that these guests should be forced upon him, and sent letter after letter to the Council; and his son had waited upon them a fortnight and more, to be released of that *most heavy and unbishop-like burden*, as he termed it. And to the Lord Treasurer he thus bemoaned himself: "That "besides his charges, there was the carefulness of keeping "them: and assuring his Lordship that it was a great of- "fence to his conscience to keep such an idle couple in his "house; which stirred no more in reading, in working, "in praying, than very dead idols; but when his Irish "mouth lavished against his Lordship, [the Lord Trea- "rurer,] the rest of the Council, and such as strained them- "selves to keep them to their charge, [the Bishop meant "himself,] very unseemly and ungratefully. That it had "been the wont to commit to the Bishops of London their "keeping learned men, and not asses with their great- "bellied wives; *Indignum Episcopo, et sene, et libero cive "officium*, i. e. 'An office unworthy a Bishop, an aged "man, and a free citizen.' He prayed his Lordship that "he might have help; for it hindered his study, his prayer, "and his preaching: and whatsoever they had offended "among them, that it was no reason that he should bear

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" the punishment." Thus he expostuled and argued in his letter dated May 13.

Delivered of him at last.

But notwithstanding all this endeavour, the Bishop could not get rid of his guest: for I find he was with him in June. And when he was to be removed to Fulham, where the Bishop now was, he would not by any means go thither: of which he wrote to the Lord Treasurer in a second letter. Here Sir Denys's business now was, in preparing pistols, and swords in walking staves, and other weapons, whereby the Bishop shewed the said Lord that his men and himself were driven to some suspicion that he minded some mischief to somebody: that therefore none of his men dared tarry about him, nor he [the Bishop himself] go into his house, but by some back way. He acknowledged, " it was " an honourable meaning to seek to help this man, but " what it would be in the eye of the world, and in the " chronicle to our posterity, to reward an accuser, that he " left to his Lordship's wisdom to judge." But at length he was relieved: for I find Rowghan at Kingston in the month of November, and at liberty.

Who this Irishman was.

Perhaps we shall be desirous to know who this Irishman was, and what his business here in England. Take this account of both. He had been a Romish Priest, but now professed himself a most faithful subject of the Queen, and acknowledged her supremacy, made a shew of the Protestant religion, and was married. And being formerly among the Queen's enemies in Ireland, was privy to all their traitorous purposes and doings; and upon some disgust taken, had left them, and come into England, to accuse them and discover their practices, and withal hoped by this means to get himself advanced. And coming over in the year 1591, he exhibited a note to the Council of the special and chief mischiefs in Ireland. And his informations he repeated several times to the Council, who it seems were not very fond of him. The sum of which was, that there was one Dr. Craghe in Ireland, who came thither in company with Dr. Saunders from beyond sea, with a number of Spaniards, to the arch-traitor the Earl of Desmond: that

His informations to the Council.

this Craghe remained there to this day, seducing the people from the true service of God, and their loyalty to the Queen; giving the world to understand, that he was there without either protection or pardon: that he daily consecrated priests, and used other papistical orders: that by his means the land was filled with iniquity, theft, murder, and rebellion. Moreover, he informed, that there were very many of the inhabitants of that realm, as well in cities and towns, as in the countries, that transported themselves into Spain, and others sent their sons or their next kin thither, to assure the Spaniard the land to be theirs. Then he advised that it would be necessary to send somebody furnished with sufficient authority to seize upon those seminary priests and their tutors, and to empower some trusty men to examine such as sent their sons or kindred to Spain; and especially the Lord of Cahir, who had sent his nephew with letters to the King of Spain, and to inquire into the numbers and names of those that were gone to seek the invasion of the land. This man offered himself ready to answer any interrogatories concerning the premises that the Council should put to him, and to discourse the same more largely, and to set down the best means, as was possible, to bring the same to pass. He promised to discover many other abuses done there, yet unknown to the Queen and her Council; so that he were encouraged, as he had been discouraged, as he told the Queen. I take also out of a letter Rowghane wrote to her, that he avouched that several of her chief officers themselves in Ireland were traitors; as Sir John Perrot, the Lord Deputy, Sir Nic. White, Master of the Rolls, and many more. He subscribed himself, *Her Majesty's most true, humble, and faithful subject, D. Rowhane, both Priest and Solicitor to her Highness.*

His advice.

But how, if, after all this, Rowghan were a Papist still, and all he drove at was only to get himself advanced and revenged? for what a right Irishman this fellow was, was evident by the examination that was taken of his man, one Arthur Connock, upon oath before Sir William Rowe, Lord Mayor in November anno 1592: whence it appeared, that

But proves a right Irishman.

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he, for his service in accusing Sir John Perrot, expected to have been made a Bishop, or to have been raised to some high place: which if he had, he said, he would have pulled down the best of them all; meaning, of the Queen's Privy Council. And because he was not better answered, he told Connock he meant to go to Rome; and would have had this servant of his to go along with him, saying, that he should have better maintenance for saying of masses, than he had of her Majesty for his said service; and that he stayed only to get a little money together, and then he would set forward: and added, that when he was once at Rome, he would lay such plots as should disquiet the best of them all. And when his said man refused to go over to Rome with him, he threatened he would lay so heavy a burden upon him as he should not be able to bear, and would charge him with such plots as should cost him his life. And what truth there was in his pretence of being a Protestant may appear in this, that he wore next his skin a string whereon hung a little round bag, and divers pieces of twopences and threepences were bowed over the said string, to be offered to saints, or those that kept saints. And this at length was the man that our Bishop was so weary of; and well he might be.

Commends certain for the see of Oxford.

His care of the Church, and his respect to his friends, such as were truly worthy, put him on sometimes to recommend persons to bishopries that fell void: and in May this year, *viz.* 1592, the see of Oxon lost its Pastor, Dr. Underhil. For the supply of this place he had two persons in his eye; the one was the Bishop of Gloucester, John Bullingham, who at that time made suit, that that bishopric might be joined *in commendam* to his own poor one: the other was Dr. Cole, Head of a College in that University. Concerning these the Bishop of London wrote to the Lord Treasurer; that as for the Bishop of Gloucester, it was in his opinion very fit for him, for the nearness of the place, and to make some addition to his poor portion: or, if that were not thought convenient, and his Lordship should not like of it, then he prayed him to remember Dr. Cole, who

was his co-exile in Queen Mary's days, and his Lordship's countryman, (that is, of Lincolnshire,) and his faithful well-willer. This man our Bishop had not long before recommended to something else, but succeeded not; it being not his luck, as he said with some discontent, to further any of his good friends in any suit of his: yet however, he added, he could not be wanting to his friends, and to God's Church. But neither of these two were preferred to this bishopric, nor indeed any else during the reign of the Queen.

Desirous to resign.

Now our Bishop hath not above two years more to finish his pilgrimage, when he had a great mind to resign his bishopric to Dr. Bancroft, a rising man, and acceptable to the Queen. And three times this year he offered him a resignation upon certain conditions, perhaps in respect of the dilapidations, to allow him such a sum in satisfaction: for the Bishop seemed to foresee a considerable burden like to fall upon his estate on that account, and so thought it his best way to compound it in his life-time: but Bancroft refused. But questionless Bishop Aylmer's main inducement in labouring Bancroft's succession to the see of London was, that he knew him to be a person long used in the ecclesiastical Commission, and strait for the observation of the rites and prescriptions of the Church established, against such as would have trampled upon them. Therefore it was but the day before our Bishop died, that he signified how sorry he was that he had not written to the Queen, and commended his last suit unto her Highness, *viz.* to have Bancroft his successor: and being dead, none was so commonly talked of to succeed, as he. But the Queen bestowed it upon another, to wit, a courtly Prelate, Fletcher Bishop of Peterborough; for such the Queen delighted in: who enjoying it two or three years, it came to pass according to Bishop Aylmer's last desires. Yet however Bancroft's succession proved prosperous to the Church, it light heavy upon Aylmer's heir; as we may see hereafter.

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The Bishop's last visitation. His death. His burial. His last will. His children and posterity.

His last visitation.

A GREAT burden of years lay now upon the aged Bishop, and yet he omitted not the care of his diocese: for in the year 1592, March 18, when his son the Archdeacon visited his archdeaconry, he was present, to counsel, advise, and oversee. And the next year, *viz.* January 16, 1593, was the ancient Bishop's last visitation; when Dr. Stanhop, his Chancellor, assisting him, or visiting in his name, every Minister was enjoined, among other things, to do what was somewhat extraordinary, (but this I suppose by order from above,) that the full state of each man might be the better known and examined; it was, to bring, in a fair sheet of paper in writing under their hands, their parents, their schools where they were educated, their degrees, their age, the day and year of their letters of orders, when made Deacon and when Priest, their presentation, institution, induction into their benefices, and their licences to preach the word of God, and where; and lastly, the Bishop that allowed them, since they officiated in the Church. These, with the frequent and careful visitations of his good conscientious son the Archdeacon, and their rules, orders, counsels, instructions, tasks, and examinations, did great good among the Clergy of the city, especially towards the reforming and quickening of them, and keeping them within their duty, and in the better discharge of it.

Departs this life.

Thus our Bishop continued, rubbing through many discouragements, but still persisting in the discharge of his episcopal function in preaching and governing his Church, and watchfulness over such as disturbed the peace or orders of it; till June 3, 1594, when being arrived to a good old age, that is, to seventy-three, he departed at his palace at Fulham. His body was interred with due solemnity in his own cathedral church before St. George's chapel, which was in the north walk of the east part of that church, under

a fair stone of gray marble with an inscription; which, together with those of his two successors, Fletcher and Vaughan, are long since defaced and taken away by sacrilegious hands, as Dugdale in his History of St. Paul's tells us. But that which was the inscription was as follows; CHAP. X.

Hic jacet certissimam expectans resurrectionem suæ carnis D. Johannes Aylmer D. Episcopus Londini. Qui obiit diem suum an. Dom. 1594. *ætat. suæ* 73.

Ter senos annos Præsul; semel Exul, et idem
Bis Pugil in causa religionis erat.

By an authentic paper in my hands, it appears the vacation of this bishopric was reckoned from June 5, 1594, to January following, when the temporalities were restored to Richard Fletcher, Bishop Aylmer's next successor [f].

What worldly estate and wealth he left behind him, it is not evident; but it is, that he made several purchases in London, in Lincolnshire, and in Essex; and lent out money upon mortgages. Among his purchases in Essex, the chief was the manor of Mugden or Mowden Hall, in the parish of Hatfield, the seat of the family of the Aylmers to this day. Whatsoever his estate was, he carefully and prudently in his life-time divided it among his wife and children by an indenture octopartite; which he mentioned and confirmed in his last will; which bore date April 22, 1594, that is, not six weeks before his death. Therein he willed to be buried in some convenient place in the cathedral of St. Paul's, on the north side, with some decent monument to be erected for him, and his figure set up, in imitation of that of John Colet, sometime Dean of the said church, standing on the south side. He gave by the said will 300*l.* to be paid in six years into the chamber of London, for the better maintaining of constant sermons at Paul's Cross: which sum his eldest son Samuel was to pay out of the rents of Mugden Hall; and 100*l.* more, deposited with him by the Countess of Shrewsbury for the same purpose:

His estate.

His last will.

[f] See Additions, Numb. VI.

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willing and advising, that in those sermons there should be some remembrance made of such benefactors. To his wife he bequeathed 20*l.* per ann. until such time as she should become possessor of certain houses in London. He gave to his second son, Theophilus, Archdeacon of London, 100*l.* owing from Mr. Newce, being remainder of the portion which his said son was by agreement to have with Mary, the said Newce's daughter; the Bishop acknowledging he had received 100*l.* already of the said portion. He gave legacies to his two grandchildren, a son and a daughter of the said Theophilus; and to little John and Judith, son and daughter of Squire that married his daughter; and to the children of Judith Lynche, another of his daughters, that married Mr. Lynche, gentleman. He gave the manor of Muckleton alias Mugden Hall, with all his lands in Essex besides, to his eldest son Samuel. Certain lands in Wetheringset, late the Lady Stafford's and Sir Edward Stafford's, he gave to his son Theophilus, or the money lent upon the same. All his lands in Rivesby in Lincolnshire he gave to his son John, who, as it seems, married and lived there. His son Samuel to take out of his library what philosophy books he pleased. The rest to be divided between three of his sons, Theophilus, Zachary, and another, who, as it seems, studied divinity. He bequeathed to the poor of London 100*l.* to the poor of Fulham 40*l.* to the poor of Hadham 5*l.* His executors were his sons Samuel and Theophilus, Dr. Richard Vaughan his cousin, and Mr. Lynche his son-in-law. For the overseer of his will he appointed Dr. Foorth. The *probatum* thereof bore date November 28, 1594. This is enough to shew the contents of his will. Now we will look into his family and children.

His wife and children.

He married Judith, the daughter of Bures, or Buers, a good house in Suffolk, being entitled the Bures of Bures. Joan, a daughter of Robert Bures, Esq. was married to Thomas King, a good family in the same county; and after to Sir John Buck, Knight, about the year 1530. From which match or matches sprang many noble and eminent

families of the Mordaunts, Barrows, Bacons, Bucks, Gaudies, Tilneys, Sheltons, Hauts, Aylmers, Foliots, Vaughans, Haidens, Hassets, &c. I find one Esau Buers, Vicar of Istelworth, who was ordained Priest by our Bishop anno 1577, no question a relation of his. By this matron Judith, the Bishop had a numerous offspring; *viz.* seven sons; Samuel, Theophilus, John, Zachary, Nathaniel, Tobel, and Edmund; besides two or three daughters. Samuel, his son and heir, was left in good circumstances, as may be guessed from a purchase or purchases of lands, which cost the Bishop 16000*l.* This Samuel was of Claydon Hall in Suffolk, and High Sheriff of that county in the reign of King Charles I. He was bred to the law; which, by certain note-books of his which I have seen, he seemed to be studious in. He married two wives. His former was Dorothy Hastings, daughter of Edward Hastings, of the Abbey of Leicester in Pratis: by whom he had no issue. His second was Ann, the eldest daughter of Edward Lord Brabazon, of Tamer's Court, near Dublin in Ireland; who was the son (if I err not) of Sir William Brabazon, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland three times in six years, that is, from 1543 to 1549, in which year he died in the tents in Ulster, and was buried in Trinity church in Dublin, and his heart carried into England, to be buried there. This Lord Brabazon had three sons; his eldest was William Earl of Meath; the second, Wallop Brabazon, of Eaton in Herefordshire; the third, Sir Anthony Brabazon, of Ireland. His daughters were six. The second was thrice married; *viz.* to the Lord Montgomery, Sergeant Brereton, and Sir John Bramston, Lord Chief Justice of England. The third married to Rigby, of Lancashire. The eldest, *viz.* Ann, was linked to the said Samuel Aylmer, our Bishop's eldest son; by whom he had divers children; *viz.* John, Edward, Anthony, Elizabeth, and Alice: from which John sprung Brabazon Aylmer, late of Mowden Hall in the county of Essex, Esq. Justice of the Peace; who hath left three sons, Samuel, Anthony, and John; and two daughters, the eldest married to John Godbold, of Territon Hall in the same

E MSS. Collect. D. Geo. Buck Mil. penes me.

Ex Offic. Armor. His eldest son.

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county, Esq. the other unmarried. And from Anthony, the youngest son of the same Samuel, is descended another Brabazon Aylmer, the bookseller and publisher of this book; who, out of due and honourable respects to the memory of his great grandfather, the Bishop, put me upon exposing these collections, and communicated some considerable papers and notices relating hereunto.

Dr. Aylmer's second son.

Theophilus, his second son, was bred up to the study of divinity, and commenced Dr. of Divinity, was Archdeacon of London, and Rector of Much Hadham in Hertfordshire: out of which parish he married his wife Mary, daughter of William Newce, (Thomas Newce, Esq. was anno 1617 High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, who, I suppose, was the said William's son.) He was, if we may take Dr. Fuller's character of him, one of the most reverend and learned divines of his generation, and an excellent preacher: and preaching once before King James, the King took great satisfaction in his sermon, commending it much; but being chiefly levelled against the Puritans, he thought he made use of his father the Bishop's notes, who little favoured that party. Among others the good and praiseworthy qualities of this man, he was an encourager of learning, and maintained some scholars at the University to be brought up to the ministry: among the which was one John Squire, his nephew; and by the said Theophilus's means possessed of the living of Shoreditch, London: which favours the said Squire did openly acknowledge in his epistle to a Paul's Cross sermon by him preached anno Dom. 1623, which he dedicated unto him, and gratefully remembered there; confessing it was he sent him to the University, procured his preferment there, and had been his patron ever since. This Squire's father was in such reputation with the Bishop, that he gave him one of his daughters in marriage. But how he proved afterwards, we shall see by and by.

Some character of him.

We may take some character of this Dr. Aylmer from a letter of his occasionally written to Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, a great man, now, or soon after, Lord High Treasurer, concerning tithes due to him from the said Earl's tenants; for

which he was fain to sue them. And to take off any displeasure that might arise to him on that occasion, he penned a very handsome letter to him, set forth with much deference to his Lordship, and expressive of much gravity and sense of piety. And not being very long, I shall insert it.

" Mine humble duty in all due sort premised. My very " honourable good Lord, the constant report of your Lord- " ship's religious and just disposition in all affairs whatso- " ever, hath emboldened me (by nature timerous) to solicite " your Honour in a word or two for mine own self. May " it therefore please your Lordship to understand, that I, " being Parson of Much and Little Hadham in Hartford- " shire, have a year since (or thereabout) commenced suit " against some of Little Hadham (who may happly be your " Lordship's tenants) for tyth of underwoods, by all law to " me due. This very name of *suit*, though it might with " some persons fore-condemn me, either as covetous or con- " tentious; yet dare I mention it unto your Honour, whose " upright judgment righting many, will never admit that " prejudice should wrong me or any.

" First therefore I protest in the sight of the Heart's only " Searcher, that not any sinister affection, but necessities " forceable compulsion, hath urged hereunto. Secondly, " whereas it may be thought, that my beginning this suit " with some of your Lordship's tenants may imply want of " due regard in me towards your Honour, I (upon my for- " mer protestation) assure your Lordship, that these men " being the first, who (after demaund of tyth) were first to " me presented, as those that carried their woods; not leaving " their tyth, they were, not *voluntate mea electi*, but *sorte* " *sua relicti, et oblati* to the first trial of this suit. Thirdly " and lastly, mine humble suit unto your Lordship is, that " though your tenants may expect your honourable patron- " age, (which as their Lord you may afford them without " wrong-doing unto any,) yet it would please you (of that " religious integrity which tyeth the souls of all good men " unto you) to reserve for me (your Lordship's poor, true,

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" and affectionate suppliant) such favour and grace in your " eyes, as that law having free passage, right being tryed, " my poor estimation with your Lordship may, so far forth " as I shall not deserve the contrary, abide untainted: I in " this and in all things wholly submitting my self to your " Lordship's godly command. Thus unfainedly praying " for your Honour's continual prosperity in this world, " and eternal happiness in the world to come, I most hum- " bly take my leave.

" Your Lordship's in all duty to command,

" Theophilus Aylmer."

London, this 8th of Feb. 1605.

Some further character of Dr. Aylmer.

We have not yet said all of the Reverend Son of this Right Reverend Father; but having been so singular a person in his life, I will here relate some few things more concerning him from papers communicated to me by Mr. Aylmer the bookseller, to whom he was great uncle. As this divine was an excellent, so a frequent preacher; and that even to his last and crazy age. He had also an uncommon gift in prayer, whereby he was enabled to put up fit and proper petitions to God, according as the different states and necessities of men and things required. He trod in his father's footsteps in his earnest endeavours by all sober and rational means to persuade his people to a due observance of the Common Prayer, and the orders prescribed in the worship of God; so that it was observed, his congregation was as reverent and uniform in the public service as any congregation in England beside: for his father had bred him up to be a true son of the Church of England. And yet he was not at all of a contentious spirit, nor placed his conformity in continual disputations and tossing of arguments, or in angry and reproachful terms against such as differed from him, or the present constitution. For he was a mild and peaceable man, retaining the truth in peace.

His charity.

And as he had considerable incomes from the Church, or otherwise, so his charity was extraordinary: and that not only towards the poor within his own precincts and parishes,

but towards others that needed; especially poor scholars and poor strangers; whether Spanish, Dutch, French, Italian, Grecian exiles: gratefully remembering, no question, that his father was once an exile for his religion, as they now were: to whom therefore he could not but have a peculiar compassion. Mr. Squire, his nephew by his sister, Minister of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, London, would often shew to him the necessities of certain persons, and ask an alms on their behalf; when he would usually give him twice as much as he demanded; whence the said Squire would say, he was constrained to conceal from him many objects of charity, because he conceived him to be too bountiful in his liberality, even to the injuring of his family. So that it was said by the foresaid person, who knew him and his concerns intimately well, that had he been but ordinarily frugal, he might have reserved from his charity to the poor, as much as he left for the entire maintenance of his wife and family. It was this made him say on his death-bed, "that the poor "could not expect any gift at his death, because he had "given them as much as he could, while he was alive; and "that, to his soul's comfort, he had already made his own "hands to be his executors, and his own eyes his overseers."

Humble and mortified.

And as he was thus of a charitable, so he was also of an humble and mortified spirit. He exercised himself upon occasions in praying and fasting; living contentedly and thankfully with what he had. And though he were one of the ancientest Chaplains to King James, and might have deservedly attained more preferment in the Church, and have been placed in a higher sphere, in respect of his father and his own learning, when many of his inferiors and juniors obtained greater and more wealthy places, yet he never repined nor envied.

His preparation for death.

His preparation for death, and his behaviour of himself in his sickness, was remarkable, and truly Christian. He was at first taken with a feverish distemper, which though not violent, yet he apprehended would cause his death, saying, *Nemo moritur sine febre.* Wherefore his first work was to put his house in order, and to make his will: and

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then raised up his mind to frequent holy and heavenly thoughts; quickening himself by these words; *Quo propinquior morti, eo lætior; quo vicinior cœlo, longior à terra.* He enjoined one of his nearest and dearest friends, that when he should perceive him at the point of death, he should prompt him to say these words; *Lord have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus receive my soul.* Which his friend, when he perceived his death approaching, accordingly did; and though he could not speak the words, yet by the lifting up his hand he signified the repeating of them in his heart.

In the beginning of his sickness his friends persuaded him to make use of physic. He answered, "It needed not; "he should be well. However," said he, "I commit and "submit my body unto them, as unto God's instruments: "yet with this caution, that they deal plainly with me; "and when they find their art ineffectual, then they render "my poor carcass to me again, to be ordered according to "my own direction." When he was asked often, how he did, he would say, "I thank God, heart-whole." And once, having laid one hand on his heart, and lifting up the other to heaven, he said, "The glory above giveth no room to sick-"ness." When he found he approached nearer to death, according to the order of the Church, he made his confession to the Preacher, his assistant, and received his absolution; and desired the Communion, but death came too hastily, and prevented. When the Preacher praying with him came to the suffrage, *Let the enemy have no power against him*, he suddenly interposed with an observed courage, "I am assured he shall not."

He shewed his paternal and conjugal love by these expressions: "Let none," saith he, "think that I have left "my children poor: no, I have left them heavenly riches." And when his wife wept by him, he observing it said, "Why, "how now, sweet heart: dost thou by those dear tears "wound thine own heart and mine? But mine is passion-"proof. Worldly occasions have many nights separated "us, and the morning hath rejoined us. It is but one

" night, one short night, I shall be from thee, when the " glorious morning, by that never-setting Sun of Glory, " shall eternally bring us together." Like a good pastor, he shewed a great concern for the well-doing of his flock after he was dead and gone. " As St. Paul," said he, " prayed for his brethren according to the flesh, that all " Irsael might be saved; so do I pray for my flock, that " all my people may be saved. And to this end I earnestly " entreat the Lord, that after my departure he will send " faithful and painful pastors among them, who may break " the bread of life sincerely unto them, and in all godliness " go in and out before them."

When his death came with nearer approaches towards him, he shewed greater acts of faith and fearlessness of it. He declared he forgave all men, as he desired God should forgive him. " Let my people know," added he, " that " their pastor died undaunted, and not afraid of death. I " bless my God, I have no fear, no doubt, no reluctation; " but an assured confidence in the sin-overcoming merits of " Jesus Christ." And in the conclusion of all, he shut his own eyes with his own hands, dying in the Lord Jesus in the month of January 1625, the first year of King Charles I. a year memorable for a severe pestilence; in which time died fifty-four preachers of London. He was buried in his own parish church, and honoured with a funeral sermon preached by Dr. James Usher, the most learned Archbishop of Armagh. And all this we have said of the Bishop's second son, Theophilus.

His third son, and his namesake, John, perhaps a soldier, for some service, or testimony of honour the Prince thought fit to shew him, was knighted, and styled Sir John Aylmer, of Rigby in the county of Lincoln, Knight. He married Susan, daughter and heiress of Sampson of Suffolk.

His third son, John.

Of his fourth and fifth and seventh sons, Zachary, Nathaniel, and Edmund, I know little; only that Zachary and Edmund, as they were brothers, so they were friends, a most entire affection passing between them. As a notable testimony whereof, when Edmund lay sick, Zachary never

His fourth, fifth, and seventh sons.

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left him, but was continually with him night and day to the very last; never to be parted from each other till death made the separation: and that was not long; which Zachary himself, as it were by some hidden instinct, was aware of. For when the joiner came to take measure of the corpse of his brother to make his coffin, Zachary at the same time ordered him to take his measure also for the same intent; and his coffin was made too; in which he was enshrined in a short time after, and died without issue. A commendable instance of that affection and love that ought to be between near relations, and such as nature hath tied together in blood.

Tobel, his sixth son. Fuller.

Tobel, his sixth son, had Archbishop Whitgift for his godfather, who so named him according to the signification of the word, (that is, *The Lord is good*,) in memory of a great deliverance by the goodness of God this child's mother received, and the child too, cast out of her coach, being big with child, and no harm followed. He was styled, Tobel Aylmer, of Writtle in Essex, gentleman. He took to wife Mary, daughter of John Sammes, of Toppingohal in Hatfield Peverel, in Essex; and had by her John Aylmer, his eldest son, Rector of Bletneso and Melchborn in the county of Bedford; and Tobel, of London, gentleman, who married Margaret, daughter of John Casinghurst, of Letherhead in the county of Surrey: besides which two sons he had a daughter, named Mary, married to John Acton, son of John Acton the King's goldsmith: which second Tobel had issue two daughters, Mary and Margaret; as appears by a visitation of London taken by S. George about the year 1636.

Ex Officio Armor.c.24.

His daughters.

The Bishop's daughters were, Judith, who married William Linch, of Kent; and Elizabeth, married to Sir John Foliot, of Pirton in the county of Worcester, Knight; who had issue Aylmer Foliot; and he Aylmer Foliot, of Yardley in the same county, a worthy and a learned man, and of a good estate, lately deceased. The Bishop had a third daughter, (or one of the former by a second marriage,) matched with Dr. Squire, a Divine and Preacher. There

Dr. Squire.

be two copies of verses of his extant upon the death of Bishop Jewel, one in Latin, the other in Greek. This Bishop he styled his master in those verses;

Heu! mihi, mors rapuit dominum.

So that Squire seems either to have been his Chaplain, or brought up under him; and that that Bishop exhibited to him in the University. And I find he had in that Bishop's life a dispensation for the vicarage of Conmore in the diocese of Sarum. This man was somewhat fantastical, as appears in that he would needs preach his own wedding sermon; which he did from that text, *It is not good for Adam to be alone;* Adam being his own Christian name. But this was not the worst of him; for he proved an unkind husband, and a dissolute man. She was a virtuous woman, and well brought up. But he, to cover his disloyalty to her bed, unworthily feigned an intrigue between her and a Knight; and, as we are told, framed a letter from the Knight unto her, which was indeed his own inventing, to bespatter her reputation. The Bishop sent for the Knight, and found out the truth: and soon after, arguing the case between him and his son-in-law, soundly cudgelled him for his baseness; which Martin Marprelate hearing of, thus abusively related it; "that he went to buffets with his son-in-"law for a bloody nose."

Squire the Bishop's son-in-law.

Brief View of the State of the Church.

He had good preferments in the Church. In one whereof, by the statutes of the church where it was, he was bound to keep hospitality; and to have every Saturday three Vicars Choral at supper; and every Tuesday to feed all the poor that came to his house for alms: and there came weekly above ninety persons. But as he was vicious, so he was of a prodigal humour, and ran much in debt: and his houses and chancels belonging to his livings fell into great decay. He was also in the Queen's debt for first-fruits and tenths; and was fain to make use of a protection. So that at last the Lord Treasurer, the Bishop, and his eldest son, and four other commissioners, took the management of his debts, the Archbishop of Canterbury having granted his

Squire a prodigal.

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creditors the sequestration of his livings. This sequestration the Bishop procured to stop his vice and profuseness, and to see his just debts satisfied; taking care that his allowance out of the sequestration should be but a bare subsistence; because his father-in-law was minded hereby, if possible, to reduce this lavish sinful man to thrift and repentance. But Squire laboured with the Lord Treasurer that he might have these sequestrators nominated by the Bishop removed, and this sequestration taken off: for that all his creditors would have been content upon his own word (excepting Dr. Bingham) without sureties to have borne with him, and to have received portionally as his revenues had come in, if the sequestration had been released. Whereas he did then daily more and more incur forfeitures. That it were better for him to resign all his livings, and to commit his body to his creditors, than to suffer the Bishop of London (in whose debt he said he was not, but the Bishop in his) to keep his living from him, and to receive all the profits into his own purse. That he could stay no longer at Court, partly for want, and partly for fear of imprisonment, his protection being ended. That in his journey he must have begged, had not Sir Francis Knolles given him some money to bring him home. And when he should come home, he had not one penny to maintain him and his family: and yet he was bound by oath, and the statutes of the church to which he belonged, to keep hospitality. This was the substance of a letter he wrote to the said Lord Treasurer, August 12, 1587. And the said compassionate Lord the said day, either by letter or word of mouth, moved the Bishop for some favour to be shewed this spendthrift. Whereat the very same day the Bishop signified his mind in this grave and earnest manner to the Treasurer:

The Bishop's letter concerning Squire.

"My singular good Lord, (my duty remembered,) I "trust your good Lordship will have due consideration of "my lewd son-in-law, that neither by pity, whereto you "are naturally enclined, nor by importunity of friends, "which such a lewd fellow shall commonly find ready, you

" will forget any piece of that fear which you owe unto " God, or that singular care which your Lordship hath " ever had to cleanse the Church, the Spouse of Christ, of " all hypocrites and filthy livers. And upon that confi- " dence I am bold to pray your good Lordship, that such " an *acolastus*, and *dilapidator rerum ecclesiasticarum*, shall " not carry any piece of Christ's patrimony away to main- " tain his vicious life: or that he and his friends shall find " such favour in Court, that a sequestration, granted by " my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, and of his colleagues, " men of great wisdom, knowledge, and consideration, " should now be discredited, (a matter whereof there is no " precedent,) to bring the fruits of Squire's livings to hungry " men's hands, as those two were which were offered to your " Lordship; whereby the unthrift might make some piece " of money, and so run away; and so the creditors be de- " feated of all satisfaction; which hitherto they have had " good hope of. The sequestrators are for one piece, Mr. " Francis Hastings and Mr. Purefoy, of Leicestershire; the " others, my eldest son, and one Mr. Kemp, of the Temple, " Utterbarister; whom your Lordship may at all times " cause to be called to account: where otherwise, being " committed to such needy fellows as he hath and will " bring in, your Lordship shall see a mervailous great in- " convenience to follow: whereof I shall not need to speak; " for your wisdom will have thereof sufficient consideration. " Thus praying God to direct your Lordship in this and " all other things, I commit you to the most favourable " blessings of God. From my manour of Much Hadham, " this 12th of August, 1587."

The Bishop's vexation with this man, both for his unkindness to his daughter, and his other immoralities, was such, that he accused him at the Council-table, where he gave the Bishop sharp words. But in his own vindication he soon after ventured to make his protestation to the Lord Treasurer, (which I must not omit,) that for matters of crimination objected by the Bishop, he was innocent; and

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had offered himself to trial in any court in England, saving only where his father-in-law was a Judge; although he knew, as he said, that all the civil lawyers almost stood in awe of him; and the rather for that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury had joined with him in this action. He protested before the eternal God, that he had ever, until their meeting at the Council-table, in all humble and most dutiful sort, reverenced his father-in-law, and most entirely loved and yet did love his wife; although he had been greatly abused, and strangely dealt withal.

What afterwards became of this loose man I know not. But his son John seems to have been left in low circumstances; whom his uncle, Dr. Theophilus Aylmer, brought up and maintained at the University, and proved a sober and honest man. He enjoyed the benefice of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, London, by the means of his uncle, and other preferments; which he gratefully acknowledged in print, as was said before. He was endued with good learning, as appears by his sermon preached at Paul's Cross anno 1523, upon the second Commandment; which hath a great deal of reading in it.

The Bishop's name and family.

Having said all this of our Bishop, and his children, I might add somewhat of his name and family, which was ancient and genteel. I find several of the Aylmers in the city of Norwich about the beginning of the sixteenth century commencing 1500. In St. Peter's church in Norwich was buried one Richard Aylmer, with an old inscription in Latin verses upon him; which shew him to have been Mayor of that city, and derived of an honourable stock. Which verses began thus:

Weever's Mon. p. 802.

Aylmer Richardus procerum de stipite natus;
Is quondam Major urbis jacet hic tumulatus, &c.

His wife was named Joan; and by her he had posterity; is charactered for a good and a charitable man; and was buried

anno milleno D. bino cum duodeno;

that is, 1514, if I take it right. And before him there was

one Thomas Aylmer, of Norwich, grocer; whose last will bare date 1500; who therein left a legacy to his aunt, Margaret Parker: which Margaret seems to have been grandmother to Matthew Parker, Queen Elizabeth's first and most worthy and well-deserving and learned Archbishop of Canterbury.

Of this family, I suppose, was Laurence Aylmer, Sheriff of London anno 1501, and Mayor 1507; serving out the year upon the decease of William Brown, Mayor. This Laurence was a draper, and son of Thomas Aylmer, of Ellesnam in Essex, a neighbour county to Norfolk. Stow's Surv.

And of the same family I make no doubt was that George Aylmer, one of the chief of the Friars of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem in London, who at the dissolution of religious houses under King Henry VIII. was one of those stout Knights of the Priory that would not surrender the house to the King, as many of the other monasteries did. But however, when this house was dissolved by act of Parliament, he fared pretty well, notwithstanding his obstinacy, having 100*l.* pension allowed him for life by the same act. Geo. Aylmer, of St. John's of Jerusalem.

To all the rest let me add, that I find one Mrs. Fraunces Aylmer, a gentlewoman of the Court, who was one of the ladies that attended Queen Jane, King Henry VIII.'s most beloved wife, on horseback at her most splendid and solemn funeral ε. MSS. in Offic. Armor.

Our Bishop kept a good house, having eighty servants with him in his family. And besides, he built and repaired houses, bridges, scoured and cleansed ditches and common sewers, &c. in which he spent more than any Bishop of London before him had done in forty years. And whereas it was not unusual in those times for Bishops to obtain the Queen's release of first-fruits, he generously forbore to sue for it, considering the Queen's great charges. The Bishop's housekeeping and expenses.

And yet by his good and provident husbandry he laid out 16000*l.* in purchase of lands not long before his death. His purchase.

ε See Additions, Numb. VII.

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And when he died, his goods of all sorts came to about 1000*l.*; which was most of it spent upon his funerals.

His dilapidations.

But notwithstanding all the charges and expenses which the Bishop bestowed in necessary reparations, such were the decays of that great structure of St. Paul's, and his ancient palace at London, that three years after the Bishop's death the cost of putting them in repair was computed at 6513*l.* 14*s.* as Bishop Bancroft, his next successor but one, brought in; who sued Mr. Aylmer, the Bishop's son and heir, for dilapidations, (as the Bishop had sued his predecessor,) and obtained a sentence in the Arches against him for 4210*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* But, to speak the truth, Paul's church had been in a decaying condition before Aylmer came to the see; and what he and his predecessors could do themselves, or gather from others, towards the repairs, could not effect it. The sentence aforesaid took not effect, because the personal estate was not sufficient to satisfy the sum awarded. Bancroft thereupon desired the Lord Treasurer's good liking and furtherance, to prefer a bill in the High Court of Parliament for sale of so much of his lands as should suffice to discharge the dilapidations, considering the said lands were bought with part of that money that should have kept the church and houses in repair: and added, that it had cost him a thousand marks to repair the house at London, being ready to fall down when he came to it. It was said also by the said Bancroft, that Bishop Aylmer made 6000*l.* of his woods, and left scarce enough to find the present Bishop yearly fuel; and that he let out leases, some for an hundred years and above, and some for fifty. But he now suing Mr. Aylmer at the law, some caution must be had in the reader how he takes all in the strictest sense, especially having no opportunity of hearing the other side, and remembering what the Bishop himself in his lifetime urged concerning his woods. I do not know what issue this came to: it seems Mr. Aylmer set him at defiance, and said, Let the Bishop of London repair how he list, but he should repair nothing with his money. But I have been told by some of his posterity, that he was fain to part with a round

For which Bishop Bancroft sues his son.

sum at last, and to sell some part of his estate to make satisfaction. CHAP. X.

CHAP. XI.

Some observations upon Bishop Aylmer. Certain things charged upon him cleared. The Lord Burghley his friend.

WE cannot leave our Bishop yet, till we have in some reflections and considerations taken a review of him, and looked into his nature and disposition, his good acquired accomplishments of learning and judgment, his friends and enemies, and what things were charged upon him as faults in the administration of his episcopal function. A review taken of the Bishop.

I shall begin with the last of these. For however carefully and conscientiously the Bishop behaved himself in his office, he could not escape many and various censures and ill representations made of him and his actions. But I must premise, that the ground of all the accusations that were preferred to the Queen and Council against him, for the most part were his prosecutions of such as went contrary to the rules and orders appointed in the Church. For he spared not his pains to keep the Church of England in that stay of doctrine and discipline wherein it was settled, when with so much mature advice and deliberation it shook off Popery at first. Faults charged upon him.

The greatest broil he met with was, that he was reported to have made a great waste of his woods, to the injury and impoverishment of the see. In the year 1579, he made indeed a considerable fall of wood and timber. The information whereof was brought to the Council: and the Lord Treasurer soon wrote to him upon this complaint; and in his free and plain manner blamed him for what he had done; and withal told him, that there was a Bishop once deprived for such a thing. But the Bishop on the other Wronging the see by felling the wood.

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hand a little nettled, and, being somewhat a hot man in his nature, called these *undigested surmises;* and, conscious that he had done nothing but what he could answer, was resolved to stand to the justifying of his own doings. But what his pleas and vindication of himself was, we have seen already.

Charged for his licences for marriage.

The Bishop was again blamed for his too hastily and negligently granting licences for marriage, without due examination concerning the consent of the parents, guardians, and friends of the parties to be married. The occasion whereof was, that in July 1583 some noble person's son or daughter was matched unequally and unhappily, by means of one of these licences. Whereupon the complaint was brought before the Council-table [h]. And the officer named Mr. Blackwel, was sent for by a warrant from the Lord Treasurer, to appear before the Council, to examine him about granting this licence. But both he and Dr. Stanhop, the Bishop's Chancellor, protested they neither knew nor heard of the fault till the Lord Treasurer's warrant came: whose charge they confessed it was, if they had been present, to have looked unto it. The Bishop himself was also sent for to the Council, where he was twitted for his licences: though if there were any fault committed in this particular, the blame lay in his officers, not in him. But effectually to prevent such unfortunate accidents for the future, out of his good zeal and fatherly care, he forthwith sent order to Dr. Stanhop, inhibiting him for granting any licences at all: which he professed most willingly to obey: but withal desired, that there might be one uniform order in all courts, whence these licences were to be granted.

Faculties.

For the courts out of which they were taken, besides that of the Bishop of London, were that of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Vicar General, the Court of Faculties, whereof Dr. Lewin was Judge; the Consistory of every Bishop: and in some places the Commissary *in partibus* used it; and some Archdeacons challenged it by prescription: there was

[h] See Additions, Numb. VIII.

also the exemption of the Tower; by pretence of which an ancient Priest, commonly called *Old Sir Roger*, did marry without any licence. For, as Stanhop prudently signified to the Bishop, if he made special restraint of his licences, and all other courts were left at liberty, although the judges of those courts were careful themselves herein, yet their courts being kept in London, it was easy for those that meant evil to seek that in one place, which they might not have in another, as daily experience shewed in the exemption of the Tower; by virtue whereof Old Sir Roger married many a couple, which licences could not or would not be obtained. And if other courts were not restrained, as well as that of the Bishop of London, as the subject would receive no benefit, so a blot would only remain upon the Bishop's court, and his jurisdiction be in part overthrown; when men should know, that they were driven to leave his court to sue to another.

Old Sir Roger.

Therefore upon these considerations, and for a due regulation of these licences every where, the said learned Civilian craved of the Bishop, that he would endeavour with their Honours of the Council, that certain restraints might be put upon all courts where such licences were wont to issue out: first, for the form of them; and secondly, for certain limitations to be observed concerning them.

For the forms, he sent the Bishop a copy of that of the court of Canterbury, and another of that of London. Whereby it might appear, that the latter was a great deal more strait in respect of the manner of the licences, and the consent of the parents. And if by comparing both it should be found, that that form of London were less disordered, then that his Lordship would procure that form might generally stand.

The limitations to be observed to be these:

First, That no licence pass, but that it be directed to some certain parish, and either to the Parson, Vicar, or Curate, who did continually serve there. So might the officers know upon present search, where to answer the delivery of their licences.

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Secondly, That no licence should pass for any maid, (rich or poor,) but that the clause in English subscribed be set unto it. For that every Minister was not to understand Latin.

Thirdly, That none that came for licence should be allowed to it by the Register: but that he should bring him to the Judge, to examine the cause and the necessity of the licence before it pass. And so the Register to receive his instructions at the Judge's hands, in presence of the party that sued for the licence.

Fourthly, That no bond under two hundred pounds should be taken for any licence of the meanest. And so according to the quality of the person, the sum of the bond to be raised.

Fifthly, That one clause in every bond to be taken be, that the parties be of that quality, and no other than they are named in the licence; as either by the name of his occupation, trade, gentry, or upward.

Sixthly, That no licence pass for any maid, but that the quality of the parents be set down truly: and that likewise to be a clause in the bond.

Seventhly, That where the party himself to be married did not come to sue about the licence, the solicitor, or whosoever else did follow it, should put in known security that the parties were of that quality, and of no other than he did avouch them to be.

These were the Civilian's restraints devised for marriage licences, recommended by him to the Bishop: to which he in his wisdom might add more. But in behalf of defence and maintenance of the Bishop's court and jurisdiction, and for the care he had that they might not be noted above all others to be restrained from that which was the liberty of others; he humbly required of the Bishop, that these, or what other orders soever were thought necessary, might be by the Queen's honourable Council given generally to all courts, and all limited to one manner of bounds.

He is charged again for disorders in Essex.

Another time an accusation was brought to the Queen against our Bishop by some of his back-friends, and that

only upon hearsay; which reflected upon his care of seeing due conformity observed in his diocese; a thing apt to provoke the Queen against her Bishops more than any other. Therefore they told her of reports of great disorders in Essex, a considerable part of his diocese; and that the Ministers there in their several churches had ways and forms of their own, all different from the appointed service; and that there were not seven churches in the whole county one like another. This was a severe charge indeed, if it had been true. This happened in November 1581. The Bishop understanding such an information to be brought to the Queen against him, was not a little nettled at it; and forthwith caused a diligent search to be made in Essex. And after all had not found three churches in the whole county, wherein the service of the book was not observed. Whereupon he prayed the Lord Treasurer, that he would let her Majesty know (and that on his credit) the falsehood of this report, and the conformable condition of his diocese: adding his resentment, that any should so far abuse her Majesty upon credit of others, and tell the Queen matters not of their own knowledge. And to signify his diligence in his place to cure all disorders, he shewed the Lord Treasurer, how by them of the ecclesiastical Commission orders were given out, that Apparitors and officers should on Lord's days go from church to church to see what conformity was used everywhere, and to certify accordingly. Of this also the Bishop thought convenient that the said Peer should advise the Queen, and to understand further her pleasure in the same.

Desires to be heard by the Queen.

In these and divers other matters, there wanted not for persons to misrepresent him to the Queen; which, when they were better and more throughly known and understood, proved but calumnies. And therefore when sometime the Queen seemed to give too much credit to these reports, the Bishop would remind her of the request he made to her upon his first access to his charge, desiring he might enjoy the promise she had then made him thereupon: that his adversaries might not carry it away without his an-

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swer, nor she condemn him without his deserts. And when he found his enemies aspersing him liberally, and he not called to speak in his own vindication, he would sometimes be a remembrancer to the Treasurer, and say, he did not doubt her Majesty would graciously call to her remembrance what a princely promise she made him more than once at his first coming to that place, that whatsoever should be informed against him, he should come to his answer. The performance whereof he hoped she would honourably grant him.

Marprelate's slanders of this Bishop.

By the above written it appears, that our Bishop wanted neither enemies nor slanderers. Whereof one was Maddocks, who refrained not from shewing his spite against him, even before the Lord Treasurer himself, telling him, that the Bishop's *dealings were under the censures of many, and his life gained evil speeches of all.* But it must be marked that a great part, or most of these his ill-willers, were such as he procured by that which he counted the discharge of his own duty and conscience, namely, the pressing obedience to the established Church and Liturgy. These men of the separation threw loads of reproaches and vilifications upon him. And every one of them Martin Marprelate carefully picked up, and howsoever slenderly vouched, he clapped into his book, the more to expose the Bishop. Some, and the chief whereof, we will here mention.

Detaining stolen goods.

He told a lamentable story of the Bishop for detaining stolen goods, *viz.* a parcel of cloth found within his manor of Fulham, left there by certain thieves, who had taken it from certain diers living at the Old Swan in Thames-street. But when the diers came to challenge their cloth, the Bishop said it was his own, because taken within his own lordship: and that if it was theirs, the law should pass upon the thieves, and then he would talk further with them. The thieves were tried and executed, and they confessed the cloth to be theirs that claimed it. But notwithstanding the diers could never get their cloth. With this the scurrilous author made sport, saying, the cloth was good blue, and so might well serve for the liveries of the

Bishop's men; and good green, and so would serve for his cushions, and the coverings of his tables. CHAP. XI.

Another story was told of him, which I put also among the rank of his slanders. That one George Allen, being the Bishop's grocer, and dying, Tho. Allen and Rich. Alworth, merchants of London, were his executors. And finding in the books of the deceased the Bishop to owe 14*l.* odd money, on Easter-Wednesday, of all the days of the year, they waited upon him at his palace at London for the said money, for that they were to dispose of it according to the trust reposed in them. But that the Bishop called them rascals and villains, saying, that he owed the deceased nothing, and that he had a general acquittance to shew. But when they desired him to shew his discharge, and they should be satisfied, he would shew them none, but bade them go sue him. And then they replied, Do you use us thus for asking our due? We would you should know, we are no such vile persons. To whom the Bishop again, Away, citizens! nay, you are rascals; you are worse than wicked mammon. And so lifting both his hands, and flinging them down again, said, You are thieves, you are cozeners. Take that for a Bishop's blessing; and so get you hence: and so thrust them out of doors. But when they shortly after went to bring the matter to further trial, he sent a messenger to them confessing the debt. Yet they could not get the money to this day. Wronging his grocer.

Another of his enemies' slanders was, that he kept one Benison, a poor man, in the Clink, for I cannot tell how long, unjustly without cause. Keeping one in the Clink.

They threw it also as an heinous reproach on him, that he ordained his porter that waited at his gate, for a Minister. Ordaining his porter.

These and divers other stories were but the effects of a calumniating spirit; and were either false, or, if there were any truth in them, they were so put together, as to make that criminal and heinous, which indeed was justifiable, or at least excusable. But the libeller, to set out his pasquil, raked all things by all reports from all the sycophants in These calumnies wiped off.

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the world, and made no choice of men or matter, so that it might serve his turn; as an author in those times, (supposed to be Cowper, Bishop of Winchester,) in his answer to Martin's libel, speaks; who wiped off all these foul and lying representations of this and other worthy Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and set in true light the disguised stories told of them.

Admonit. to the People of England, anno 1589.

And from him to assoil these dire accusations. The business between the Bishop and the diers in truth was thus. That upon notice given to the said Bishop, that such cloth was waived within his manor of Fulham, and left in a ditch there, and no owner known, he presently, hoping to take them that brought it thither, or at least to save the same from purloining or miscarrying, appointed the same to be watched divers nights. And in the end, hearing neither of the owners, nor of them that so waived it, willed the same to be brought to his house in Fulham, and there to be kept for him or them which by law ought to have it, were it in respect of the first property, or of the alteration thereof by means of the liberties. Whereupon a good space after, the diers indeed came to the Bishop and claimed the cloth, and sought by earnest means to have it again, without making any proof that the cloth was theirs, or that the same cloth was it, for which the thieves were executed, or that fresh suit was made after the said thieves for the same. But upon conference had with learned lawyers therein, it was resolved, that the property of this cloth was altered, and transferred to the liberties. And so the diers themselves found; else they would by law have sought remedy ere this, three years being now past since this pretended loss of the cloth. Yet nevertheless, so far had the Bishop been from exacting the extremity, that offer had been made to the diers of a good part of the cloth, where in law they had lost all: and farther to restore all, or to make sufficient recompense, if by law it ought to be so, upon the examination of the truth of the cause. Marprelate indeed called this downright theft, though it were taken and claimed by right and law, because the true owners were defeated. And this is

no more than the law doth in other cases: as in strays, proclaimed and kept a year and a day, according to the law, the property is altered, and transferred to the lord from the true owner. So is it for stolen cattle, brought *bona fide* to the open market. The first owner's property is gone, and the buyer hath it. And so it was for waived goods, as was that cloth. So that herein the Bishop did but maintain the common known right and privilege of his manor, and no otherwise than any other lord of a manor would and might do in the like case. But to shew that he had not so great a desire to detain the cloth as the libeller presumed, he oftentimes asked an officer of his, how it happened that the diers came not for it: for he had been ever ready, and still was, (and so the apologist seemed to have warrant from him to declare,) to deliver it to them, or the value thereof, if it proved to be theirs.

As to the executors of Allen the grocer, it is true the Bishop was somewhat moved to hear his name to be in the merchants' books; a thing which he ever so precisely avoided, that commonly he sent to them he had to do with, warning them to deliver nothing in his name, without his own hand, or ready money. Hence if peradventure, provoked by the executors, he used some sharp words in a matter that was so sudden and so strange to him, it must be placed among human frailties. But certain it is, that though not at that time, yet very shortly after, the debt was discharged; and that long before Martin's railing book came forth, excepting ten pounds, which the said executors themselves for a time respited.

Benison's matter.

The business the Bishop had with one Barnabe Benison, who called himself *student in divinity*, and who for his perverseness was kept in the Clink half a year and more, was thus. This man had studied for some time at Geneva; and after a convenient stay returned into England, full fraught with the study of innovation and disobedience, setting up his station in London: where he was married by some other order different from the book and usage of the Church of England: and it seems bore out himself by

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grave Mr. Fox, the martyrologist; who, being mistaken in him, favoured him at first, but afterwards acknowledged with grief of heart that he had been abused by him. Now Benison gathered conventicles, refused to go to his parish church, sought to set all in combustion with schism in the city. Whereupon he was called before Sir Nic. Woodroff, a grave citizen, (that had been Lord Mayor anno 1580,) and the Recorder; who found him in such an humour, that they meant to have sent him to prison. But because he was of the Clergy, they thought good to commit him to his Ordinary. The Bishop's Ordinary travailed with him most earnestly to bring him to the Church, and become orderly; but after all could profit nothing with him. Wherefore he sent him again to the sessions, to the Lord Mayor and the Judges. After they had dealt with him, and could find at his hands nothing but railing, they referred him to the Bishop; who finding in him unspeakable disobedience to the Queen and her laws, offered him the oath usually tendered by the Commission, which he contemptuously and spitefully refused. Which being certified according to order, he was sent to the King's Bench, and condemned, and thereupon sent to prison. And what at length could the Bishop have done less?

But it seems the Bishop had in the managery of the matter with this man somewhat overshot himself, and not proceeded so circumspectly in the imprisonment of him for so long time. For Benison's cause being brought before the Lords of the Council, the Bishop was judged to have dealt too hardly with him, and received therefore some reprimand. This made Benison's friends and the Bishop's enemies to triumph. And he, to second his blow, (that I may put all together,) preferred a petition to the Lords, "That it would please "them to inform the Queen, while his affliction was yet "something fresh within her remembrance, that for the "late loss and great hindrance he had sustained by his late "imprisonment, over and beside his former harm done him, "the Queen would take some pity on him, and that in three "regards especially. First, his charges of close imprison-

" ment thirty weeks in the Clink; having a man conti-
" nually suing to their Honours for him: whose expenses,
" besides his ordinary maintenance, were great and charge-
" able unto him. And that it might be judged, that nei-
" ther he, nor any poor student else, who had been ten-
" derly brought up after an honest manner in learning,
" could not any way live conveniently in so costly a place
" so long time under 40*l.* cost at least. Secondly, the un-
" faithful dealing of sundry men with him, who had most
" part of his household-stuff in their hands when he went
" to prison; and the utter spoil of his books, both at his
" chamber, and also in the prison, brought no less damage
" unto him than were his costs in the Clink, with much
" grief because he could get no such books again, as were
" the most of those he missed. Thirdly, his tenement of
" freehold, all the stay of living that was left him of his
" father, was so ruined, and utterly spoiled in his absence
" especially, as an 100*l.* would not in all things repair it
" again, and bring it to the same ableness for her Majesty's
" service, that it was in, in his ancestors' days.

" Wherefore these things briefly informed by their Ho-
" nours, and his present poverty opened unto her, to wit,
" that it would please them to tell her, that he was not
" then able, unless he would sell his poor apparel off his
" back, or cover of his bed, to lay out 40*s.* for his recovery
" of ought of that which was unjustly taken from him, and
" by force kept still. Which if they would do, he would
" nothing doubt of it, but that God, who of his mercy to-
" ward him made her Majesty to pity him for his long im-
" prisonment, and other wrongs received of the Lord Bi-
" shop, would now again move her to set down, according
" to this Christian clemency he had ingrafted into her, some
" good order of recompensing of him for the great wrong
" the Bishop had done him." But how well or how ill this petition was taken of the Lords I cannot tell. And so much for Benison.

His charge of making his porter a Minister, cleared.

As for the charge, that the Bishop made his porter a Minister; all things considered he thought it to be justifi-

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able and lawfully done, and not to lack example of many such that had been after that sort admitted, both since the Queen's coming to the crown, by many good Bishops, and by sound histories ecclesiastical. That where Churches, by reason of persecution, or multitudes of hamlets and free chapels, had commonly very small stipends for the Ministers, honest godly men, upon the discretion of the governors of the church, had been, and might be, brought in to serve, in the want of learned men, in prayer, administration of the Sacraments, good example of life, and in some sort of exhortation. And this man therefore, when the Bishop found him by good and long experience to be one that feared God, to be conversant in the Scriptures, and of very honest life and conversation, he allowed of him to serve in a small congregation at Paddington; where commonly, for the meanness of the stipend, no preacher could be had; as in many places it came to pass, where the parsonage was impropriate, and the provision for the Vicar or Curate very small. And how that poor man behaved himself there, time and trial proved him: for he continued in that place with the good liking of the people eight or nine years, till he grew dull of sight for age, and thereby unable to serve any longer. It is to be found among the Greek Canons, that in Spain and Africa, when the Goths and Vandals had by extreme persecution made havock of the Churchmen, those few that were left there alive made their moan to the Churches of Rome and Italy, that their churches stood empty, because they could get none to serve, no not such as were unlearned. Whereby it appears, that in the time of necessity, and such great want, the Church did allow of very mean clerks; and so did they in the beginning of this Queen's reign.

Other calumnies.

It is hard to relate all the aspersions and stories they cast upon this grave Father. For besides the former, they charged him for cutting down the fair elms of Fulham; and for taking part with his man, who endeavoured to wrong a poor shepherd of a legacy left him. The falsehood of both which hath been declared before. They rudely

nicknamed his Lordship (whose Christian name was John) *Don John*, and sometimes, by an easy variation from thence, *Dumb John*; intending thereby to fetch him over for laziness and neglect of preaching. Whereas in truth he was both a great and a learned preacher, and had been very successful therein. In former time he was the only preacher in Leicestershire: whereby, under God, that county was brought out of ignorance to knowledge and sound religion. When afterwards he was Archdeacon of Lincoln, by his diligent preaching and careful discipline, he purged both the cathedral church and the county too, and reduced it to order, sobriety, and religion. Moreover they had the confidence to give out, that simony was the Bishop's lackey, and that, according to Marprelate's phrase, Tarleton had taken him in Don John of London's cellar: that he urged men to subscribe contrary to law: that he abused the High Commission: that he bound an Essex Minister in a bond of 200*l.* to wear his surplice on Easter-day: that he forbade men to humble themselves in fasting and prayer: and that he then said unto the preachers, *Now you had best tell the people that we forbid fasts.* The occasion of this clamour seemed to be, that in Lent 1588, by letters to the Archdeacon of Essex, he had forbidden certain fasts which the sectaries had of their own authority appointed. Further, they told it abroad with triumph, how one dame Lawson, a citizen's wife, a bold prating woman, came to the Bishop at Paul's gate, and bade him throw himself down at her Majesty's feet, and acknowledge himself to be unsavoury salt, and to crave pardon of her Highness, because he had so long deceived her and her people. This woman, as it seems, was set on by the malecontent party. For she took her opportunity to abuse even the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as the Bishop of London. But the apologizer, in the name of the Bishop, replied, that this dame came at no time to him in that bravery. For if she had, the Bishop was not so soft, but she should have felt of his discipline, and of the Queen's authority.

Bowling on the Sabbath.

They charged him further, that he was a defender of the

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breach of the Sabbath, and that he used to play at bowls on those days. And that he was a swearer, because he used to say sometimes, *By my faith.* As to these two last imputations, the Bishop thus either justified or excused himself; That he never withdrew himself from service or sermon on the Lord's days. That Christ, the best expositor of the Sabbath, said, that *the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.* That man might have his meat dressed for his health upon the Sabbath; and why might he not have some convenient exercise of his body for the health thereof on that day? Indeed it was the general custom in those days, both at Geneva, and in all other places where Protestants inhabited, after the service of the Lord's day was over, to refresh themselves with bowling, walking abroad, or other innocent recreations. And the Bishop followed that which in his travels abroad he had seen ordinarily practised among them. As for his using the word, *By his faith*, sometimes in his asseverations, the Bishop pleaded, that if it were an oath, he would amend it; but he was apprehensive of no more in that phrase of speech, *By my faith*, than *In very truth*, *Bona fide*, *Assuredly*, or as *Amen* importeth.

Beside the book of Martin Marprelate, wherein most of these calumnies are cast upon him, there was another book came forth in these times, written with as much spite against the Bishops, and Aylmer among the rest, entitled, *A Dialogue concerning the Tyrannical Dealings of the Lord Bishops.* Where the author spake of his making the porter of his gate Minister of Paddington, being blind, when he could do him no further service. But that was known to be false, that honest man losing his sight divers years after. And in another place, that this Bishop when he was at best was but a corrupt man: and that the best thing in his book [of the *Harborough of Faithful Subjects*] savoured but of earth, and many things handled in it very immodestly and unchristianly.

And, that I may not conceal any thing that his slanderous enemies belched out against him, the very mention

whereof is enough to shew their malice, and to justify the Prelate; there was another imputation cast upon him, both of covetousness and falsehood. As that he protested once at Paul's Cross, that he had no money, and that Paul's church could bear him witness, [upon which he had laid out so largely in repairs.] And that shortly after one of his servants robbed him of an 100*l.* As though these two might not well consist together; that at the time when he spake those words he might have little or no money, and soon after receive an 100*l.* and have it in his house. Nor is it an unusual manner of speech for men to say, they have no money, when they have not plenty of it. The slanderer added, that for this offence of robbing the Bishop, he hung three or four: some of which said, they knew he had money at usury, and that his servants lived upon bribes. The libeller was put hard to it to blemish the Bishop's name, when he was fain to make use of the words of rogues hanged at Tyburn to do it. What credit is to be given to such, let any one judge.

His friends.

But in the midst of these enemies he had divers friends, and some of them of power and quality at the Court. The chief of these was the Lord Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England; who indeed, as he was a very good and wise man, so he was a general patron and friend to all the worthy and learned men of the Church. He was this Bishop's great and constant friend; and he shewed himself never the less friendly, though he used, as he saw occasion, freely to speak his mind, and admonish him in some things which he thought reprovable. Whereat though the Bishop would be sometimes a little nettled, and speak and write to the Lord Treasurer somewhat hastily, yet this never abated that real love the said Lord had for him: which the Bishop after long experience being very sensible of, vowed himself unto him, as his chief patron under God and the Queen. And when once, *viz.* in the year 1585, the said noble Peer had by the Lord North sent a kind message to him, expressing what an opinion and value he had for him; and particularly that he would endeavour to procure him

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more ease by a translation to an easier bishopric, which was the thing that of all he most desired; these favours made a great impression upon the Bishop's grateful heart; which by letter to the said Lord he soon expressed: "That he "understood by the abovesaid Lord North, how much he "was bound to him, as well for his good opinion of him far "above any thing that was in him, as also for his honour- "able purpose to purchase him some more ease in his old "years, than hitherto it had been his luck to have. That "though he had neither by obsequious attendance, nor by "any manner of recompense, nor by any great signification "of thankfulness, given his Lordship any cause to deal so "favourably; yet that it might please him to think of him, "[the Bishop,] who, he said, was no good courtier, as one "that could better conceive what and how much hē was "bound unto so honourable a friend, than his plain nature "by outward shew did commonly vaunt. But that his "Lordship should find, by God's grace in the end, when "ability served, that he would neither forget his obtain- "ing the archdeaconry of Lincoln for him, nor his honour- "able countenance for him since he came to that restless "sea, [he meant the bishopric,] nor the constant conti- "nuance of his favour and furtherance towards him in his "long lingering hope of remove." But there was a party at Court against him, that ever obstructed this from taking effect, in how great probability soever it was sometimes of succeeding.

He called it his *burthenous estate* in that place, wherein he found himself every day more and more unapt to supply what the place and the time required. But he prayed that God's will might be done, who in mercy in his good time would provide a place for him of more ease, [meaning heaven,] and a man for that room of more ability. And thus in the conclusion composing himself as to this matter, "that though some men sought to hinder the course that "the Lord Treasurer and other of his honourable friends "so favourably followed, yet in the end they should do no "more than God would suffer them."

Between the foresaid noble Lord and him was held a constant good correspondence. For indeed he was a person that took a particular care of the Church, and the state of religion; and was, as I may so say, the superintendent of the superintendents of it. And the Bishop, seeing how he was concerned, not only for the civil state, but the ecclesiastic also, told him once, that he, the said Lord, might justly say, not only *reipublicæ*, but, with St. Paul, *Mihi incumbit cura omnium Ecclesiarum*. In truth he was one, that, by his extraordinary natural parts, and deep and long experience, had arrived to such a degree of wisdom and understanding, that when once the Bishop had signified his advice in some matter, he shortly took up himself with the Latin proverb, *Sed sus Minervam*, and said no more. And well knowing the great stay this said Lord was to the whole kingdom, at another time he made this prayer for him; "I pray for "you as God's good and great instrument in this poor ark "of Noah, and these most dangerous times. In which I "pray God send you the eyes of angels, and the wisdom "of Solomon."

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Lord Treasurer Burghley.

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His great abilities in learning. His disputations: writings. A Logician: an Historian: an Hebrician: a Civilian.

BUT let us turn away our eyes from these his troubles, and take another view of him, as he was a man excellently endowed both with human and divine learning.

He gave the first marks of his abilities this way in his disputations in the Convocation under Queen Mary, when he was a member there. Where he had need both of courage and learning too, to withstand the torrent of an assembly of Popish Divines, resolvedly bent to overthrow the Gospel. He managed himself now very well, and shewed

His debates in Queen Mary's Convocation.

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first that he was a good Grecian; making that part of his learning serviceable now to him. For when Cheny, another of the Protestant disputants, had quoted a passage out of Theodoret, to prove that the substance of bread remained after the consecration, *viz.* that the elements were the same after sanctification that they were before; and that they did not go out of their former substance and form, where that writer useth the word οὐσία, *substance:* and when one Moreman, a member of that Synod, (to evade this allegation,) had said, that οὐσία was a word that implied accidence as well as substance, and *accidental substance;* Aylmer shewed learnedly, that οὐσία could not possibly signify *accidence* in the place alleged. And that was evident from the two other words used by Theodoret in the same place, *viz.* εἶδος and σχῆμα; which signify in English, *shape* and *form.* He proved moreover out of the same author, that οὐσία in Greek could not be so generally taken, as Moreman for a shift would have had it. This was made good by Aylmer in the acts of the second day. And two days after, when Moreman, his antagonist, for his own reputation, had endeavoured to refute what Aylmer had before said, he again very learnedly confirmed what he had spoken of the sense of οὐσία, by reasons and proofs grounded and brought out of the Greek. Which so confounded his said opponent, that he desired a day to overview them, not knowing what to say.

Concerning the sense of οὐσία.

His free speech to the Prolocutor.

Another passage of this learned man in this Convocation must not be omitted: it was this: that when Pern had made a declaration of his mind against transubstantiation, and confirmed the sayings and authorities of Aylmer, Dr. Weston the Prolocutor took him up short, and said, he wondered that Pern would say so much, because but Friday last he had subscribed to the contrary. But Aylmer stepped forth, and told the Prolocutor, that he was to blame to reprehend any man; partly, for that the House was an house of liberty, and every man was there free to speak his conscience; and partly, because he himself had promised but the day before, that notwithstanding any man

had subscribed, he should have free liberty to speak his mind. Such was the bold spirit of the man in a just and good cause. CHAP. XII.

One passage more must be remembered of this reverend man with relation to this Synod; which shewed his prudence and care for the credit and reputation of himself, and those few Protestants with him that were in the House. For when the Prolocutor after some days would have made a triumph against them on the side of the Papists, and had termed their conferences about the argument of transubstantiation a disputation; telling the House that they had three days together answered them, upon promise that they should answer them [the Papists] again, as the order of disputation did require; "and if they be able to defend "their doctrine," said he boastingly, "let them do it:" Aylmer stood up, and shewed the House how vain a man this Prolocutor was; affirming, that they never promised any such matter as to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, that which they did was, that they refused, and said, they would shew reasons which moved them that they could not with their consciences do it: as they had partly sufficiently done, and were able to do more. And therefore that it was illy called by them a *disputation;* and that they were worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. And finally, that they should but encumber themselves, and profit nothing, since the matter was already resolved upon in the House, and determined whatsoever they should do, or dispute to the contrary. He takes up the Prolocutor again.

The next specimen Aylmer gave of his learning, was a small but a truly learned piece, called, *An Harborowe for faithfull and trewe Subjects, against the late blowne Blaste, concerning the Governement of Wemen. Wherin be confuted al such reasons, as a Straunger of late made in that behalfe: with a breife Exhortation to Obedience.* Which he wrote in his exile, and near upon his coming over into England, printed in Strasburgh, anno 1559, the Queen being then newly come to the possession of the crown. It His book called The Harborough.

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was penned in the name and for the vindication of the English Protestants, against a book written by Knox the Scot, entitled, *A Blast against the Government of Women.* Wherein he spake much and vehemently concerning the unlawfulness of women's government, and for fighting against and dethroning of Princes, if they opposed and persecuted religion, and earnestly excited the people thereunto, out of hatred to Queen Mary and her persecutions. This was a doctrine the true English Protestants in these times utterly disowned; and therefore it behoved them at this juncture especially to clear themselves of by some public testimony. And this Aylmer did in this book, and threw such principles rather upon the Papists. And hence in a place in his book he took occasion to declaim against the Popish Bishops, and their lascivious living, and their secular wealth, and spake in these words; (which Marprelate, and after him Will. Prin, made use of against even the Protestant Bishops;) "Come off, ye Bishops; away "with your superfluities: yield up your thousands: be "content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed "Churches, where be as great learned men as you are. "Let your portion be priest-like, not prince-like. Let "the Queen have the rest of your temporalities and other "lands to maintain these wars [against the French, that "now threatened the nation much] which you procured, "[meaning the Popish Clergy, in compliance with King "Philip,] and your Mistress [Queen Mary] left her [Queen "Elizabeth] embroiled in; and with the rest to build and "found schools throughout the realm; that every parish "church may have his preacher, every city his superin-"tendent, to live honestly and not pompously: which "will never be unless your lands be dispersed and be-"stowed upon many, which now feed and fat but one. "Remember that Abimelech, (as he goes on,) when David "in his banishment would have dined with him, kept such "hospitality, that he had no bread in his house to give him "but the shewbread. Where was all his superfluity to "keep your pretended hospitality? For that is the cause

Antipathy, p. 441. Part II.

" that you allege, why you must have thousands, as though " you were commanded to keep hospitality rather with a " thousand than with an hundred."

Indeed our Divine was then, as appears sufficiently by what is above said, no friend to the wealth and grandeur of those Papal Bishops that were then in place, who affected splendor and glory more than true regard to Christ and his flock, and had shewn themselves the greatest opposers of the Gospel, and the reformation of the corruptions of the Church. And hence he spared them not. And in another place of his book, " Could the Bishops ruffle in their robes, " keep their great horses, and have their thousands yearly, " with all the rest of their superfluity, if she [Queen Eliza- " beth, lately come to reign] were not their bulwark, and " took care for them, while they care not for her:" meaning these Popish Prelates, who remained at present in their places, and whom the Protestants feared might still continue there. But Aylmer's expressions were so general against all Bishops, that they were afterwards by the enemies of episcopacy thrown in his own teeth, and of the rest of the Protestant Bishops. And he himself was fain to make apology (the best he could) for those words of his. One of the taunts on this occasion cast at him by Martin Marprelate was, that he prayed Bishop Aylmer to resolve him, that in case this prophecy of Mr. Aylmer (meaning those words of his book, " come down, ye Bishops, from " your thousands," &c.) came to pass in his days, who then should be Bishop of London?

Dedicates it to the Earl of Bedford and Lord Dudley.

But to return to the book itself. He dedicated it to the Earl of Bedford and the Lord Dudley; and therein gave the reason that moved him to write, protesting, in the name of the rest of the learned Protestants, against this Blast to overthrow the government of women; and that he took this work in hand so much the rather, because, if no man should have done it, all their side should seem to have borne with it; which he knew to be so far off, that none that he knew (he spake of the *learned*) were any further guilty in this point, than that by their [public] declaration they had not

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shewed themselves guiltless. "I dare be bold to say," added he, "that all the best learned be of the same judgment "herein, that this my simple treatise shall utter me to be "of. So that neither our sworn enemies, the Papists, shall "have any longer leisure to belie us; nor our half friends, "which are indifferent to believe any thing of us hereafter, "to mistrust us; nor the high powers themselves in this "point to fear us. We have learned and taught, we love "and like, we honour and esteem true obedience to the "high Ministers of God. And on the contrary, we can no "skill of seditious disturbers of well settled polices, of rash, "unbridled breakers of wholesome and godly laws. Thus, "methinks, I may say in the name of all, because I know "the contrary opinion to be in few or none. Wherefore let "our enemies leave off thus to charge us."

But it seems their enemies would not leave off, notwithstanding Aylmer's counsel to them: for the calumny was too sweet to their enemies to lay it aside. And they continued industriously to blow it about, and to make a noise against the whole body of the English Protestants for that single book of Knox's, however disowned and abhorred by them. For it was three or four years after, that one Tho. Dorman boldly in print told the English Protestants in general; "When it served your turn, you defended stoutly "with tooth and nail, that a woman might not govern a "realm lawfully descended unto her, no, not in civil and "politic matters. Within how few years, yea months after, "taught ye, (the time so serving for your purpose,) and "yet do, that a woman may rule not the realm in temporal "things [only,] but the Church in spirituals." As though it were still the Protestants' principle, but that now they concealed it, because they had a woman on their own side.

Dorm. Proof, p. 119.

And besides this, the Papists had the impudence to lay the charge still more home, *viz.* that however the author of the Harborough pretended that he that wrote that book of the Blast was a stranger and no Englishman, yet in truth he was an Englishman. For thus the same Dorman writ; "That they covered their malice with the cloak of a

" stranger, and so conveyed the fault from themselves to " another. But that the truth was well known to be far " otherwise." And that first, because [forsooth] Aylmer in his book had said, that the author of that book against women's government " was grieved, like a good member of that " body which then suffered," [that is, the English in exile under Queen Mary,] therefore he must be English himself, and of English principles: for surely the Scottish author must be said to be so, living in England upon Queen Mary's access to the crown, and flying then with the rest of the English in the beginning of her reign. And secondly, this author must in Dorman's account be English, because Aylmer had said of him, that he should not have meddled with other Princes, but kept himself in the particular person of his sovereign Lady Queen Mary. Indeed this might have looked like some truth, if there had been no other Queen Mary at that time but she of England. But there was then a Mary Queen of Scots too; and of the same severe temper against the professors of religion as the other Queen her namesake. And concerning her, *viz.* the Scotch Queen Mary, it is that Aylmer spake, " that the " present State then, through the fault of the person and " not of the sex, was unnatural, unreasonable, unjust, and " unlawful. And that if he [meaning Knox] had kept him " in that particular person, he could have said nothing too " much, nor in such wise as could have offended any indif- " ferent man: adding this concerning the same Knox, (which " will speak full out his mind in this matter,) that this again " would have been considered, that if the question were to " be handled, yet were it not meet to bring it into doubt at " that time, when it could not, nor yet can be, redressed " (were it never so evil) without manifest and violent wrong " of them that be in place. For if it were unlawful (as he " will have it) that that sex should govern, yet is it not " unlawful that they should inherit. And in this point " their inheritance is so linked with the empire, that you " cannot pluck from them the one, without robbing them of " the other. This doubt might better have been moved,

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" when the sceptre was, or shall be, in the hand of the male. " And so if it were found evil, (as I am persuaded it shall " never be,) it might without the wronging of any be re- " formed. But now being stablished by law, confirmed by " custom, and ratified by common consent of all the orders " in the realm; it can be no equity to take it from them, " nor any colour of honesty or godliness to move any plea " against them. If nature hath given it them by birth, " how dare we pull it from them by violence? If God have " called them to it either to save or to spill, why should we " repine at that which is God's will and order? Are we " wiser than he in bestowing it? or so bold to alter that he " purposeth should come of it?" Thus fully and plainly did our Divine, in his own and in the name of the rest, declare their loyal sentiments of obedience to the supreme, be he man or woman, whom God had brought unto the throne. However, this could not stop the mouths and pens of their enemies the Papists, charging them with disloyal principles, and gladly taking hold of the occasions this foreigner's book had given them.

Some character of the book.

But as for Aylmer's book, surely it was writ with as close and logical reasoning and good arguing, as any I have met with composed in that age, and void of that manner of abusive treating of the adversary, (too common in controversial writers, especially of that time,) dealing in gentle and humane words with the person he undertook to confute. And his expositions of Scripture throughout the book, which are divers and sundry, are very sound and learned; a piece of learning more rare among Divines then, when the original languages and the Jewish history were less known.

A specimen of the book.

Now that the reader may the better see and observe the design of the author of this treatise, and his style, (especially it being a book somewhat rare to be met with in this age, now after an hundred and fifty years well near,) let it not be counted tedious, if I repeat somewhat at large his introduction to his said discourse in his own words.

" Like as sick or feble bodies cannot abyde any great " panges or fittes, or old cracked shyppes any great waves

" or windes; so disturbed or maymed commonwealthes are
" sone overturned and cast under foot by soden and straung
" mutations. Seing therefore that by frowning fortune and
" Gods wrath, for thoffences of thinhabitantes, Englande
" is of late, both in honour and possessions, not a lytle
" maimed; yea, takinge a fall through the negligence of
" the nurse, [*viz.* Queen Mary,] half made a creple; it is
" necessary for all good men, and the dutie of all faithful
" subjects, to have an eye to it, that it runne not upon the
" rockes, and make shippwrake. And as in great cities
" great hede is given, that neither by negligence of the ci-
" tezins, nor malice of evil-willers, it be consumed by fyre,
" or hurt by any other casualtie; so in commonwelthes
" must it be provided, that no fyre-brandes of sedicion be
" cast into the houses of mens hartes, to impayre thobedi-
" ence of good subjects, to kindle the hearts of the froward,
" and to destroy honest, godly, and comly order. For
" mans nature being such, as it can hardly be brought to
" stupe, and easily stirred up to disturbe, all occasions must
" be cut off, whereby the evyl may be encoraged to cast of
" the yocke of obedience, and the simple brought into doubt
" what thei ought to follow.

" Happening therefore not long agone to rede a lytle
" book, straungely written by a straunger, to prove that
" the rule of women is out of rule, and not in a common
" welth tollerable; and waying at the first what harme
" might come of it, and feling at the last, that it hath not a
" lytle wounded the conscience of some symple, and almost
" cracked the dutie of true obedience, I thought it more
" then necessary to lay before mens eyes the untruth of the
" argument, the wekenes of the proufes, and the absurditie
" of the whole. In the sifting whereof I mynd to use such
" modestie, that it shall appear to all indifferent men, that
" I seke to defend the cause, and not to deface the man;
" seing this errour rose not of malice, but of zeal; and by
" loking more to the present crueltie [*viz.* under Queen
" Mary] that then was used, then to the inconvenience that
" after might follow. Wherein surely his doing is some-

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" what to be pardoned, considering the grief that, like a " good member of that bodie which then suffered, he felt, " to his great sorrow and trouble. For lyke as the eye " being full of tears is the more unable to see, so is the " mind full of sorrow much the less hable to judge.

Eurip. in Hecub.

" As ye see in Euripides, Polymnestor, being for his " mordring of Polydorus extremeli punished of Hecuba " and other women, (who pricked out his eyes with pins,) " cryeth out not only agaynst them that hurt hym, but

Idem in Hipp.

" agaynst the whole sexe that never came nere him. And " in Hippolitus, who for the faut of his stepdame Phedra, " curseth the whole kind: so this author seyng the tor- " ments of martyres, the murdring of good men, thimpri- " sonment of innocents, the racking of the giltless, the ba- " nishing of Christ, the receivyng of Antichrist, the spoyl- " ing of subjects, the maintenance of strangers, the moving " of warrs, the losse of Englandes honour, the purchasing " of hatred where we had love, the procuring of trouble " where we had peax, the spending of treasure where it was " nedlese; and to be short, all out of joynt; he could not " but mislike that regiment from whence such fruits did " spring. Only in this he was not to be excused, (unless " he alledge ignorance,) that he swarved from the ὑπόθεσις " to the θέσις, that is, from the particular question to the " general; as though all the goverment of the whole sexe " were against nature, reason, right, and lawes, because " that the present State then, through the faulte of the per- " sone, and not of the sexe, was unnatural, unreasonable, " unjust, and unlawful. If he had kept him in that parti- " cular person, he could have said nothing to much, nor in " such wise, as could have offended any indifferent man.

" And this again would have been considered, that if the " queston were to be hanled, yet was it not mete to bring " it into doubt at that time, when it could not, nor yet can " be, redressed (were it never so evil) without manifest and " violent wrong of them that be in place. For if it were " unlawful (as he will have it) that the sexe should go- " verne, yet is it not unlawful that they should inherit, as

" hereafter we shall prove. And in this point their en-
" heritance is so lynked with the empyre, that you cannot
" pluck from them thone without robbing them of thother.
" This doubt might better have been moved, when the
" sceptre was, or shall be, in the hand of the male. And
" so, if it were found evil, (as I am persuaded it shall never
" be,) it might without the wronging of any be reformed.
" But now being stablyshed by law, confirmed by custom,
" and ratified by common consent of all the orders in the
" realm; it can be no equitie to take it from them, nor any
" colour of honestie or godlines to move any plea against
" them. If nature hath given it them by birth, how dare
" we pull it from them by violence? If God have called
" them to it either to save or to spill, why should we repine
" at that which is God's will and order? Are we wiser then
" he in bestowing it; or so bold to alter that he purposeth
" should come of it? If he hable women, shall we unhable
" them? If he ment not they should minister, he could
" have provided other. Therefore the safest way is, to let
" him do his will which can do best; which can see plainly
" that will follow it, where we blindly guesse, and do but
" grope at it. *Per me reges regunt*, saith Wisdom in the
" person of God. By him reign they, and not by us. It
" is his appointment, and not ours. For though we some-
" tyme have the election to chuse or refuse this person or
" that, (as it is in some commonwelths,) yet because we be
" not our own, but his, nor have our hearts in our hands to
" ordein what we liste, but must as waxe yelde to his wurk-
" ing; therfore it is more aggreable to dutie, and a great
" deale less jeopardie, to honour his choise, rather then to
" preferre our own. Placeth he a woman weake in nature,
" feable in bodie, soft in courage, unskilful in practise, not
" terrible to the enemy, no shielde to the frende; well,
" *Virtus mea* (saith he) *in infirmitate perficitur; i. e.* My
" strength is most perfight, when you be most weak. If he
" joyn to his strength, she cannot be weak; if he put to his
" hand, she cannot be feable; if he be with her, who can

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" stand agaynst her? *Thou shalt not take with thee any* " *great power*, (saith he to Gedeon,) lest you think to " overcome your enemies by your own strength and prow- " ess, and not by my wurking and might. It is easy for " him to save by few as by many, by weak as by strong, " by a woman as by a man. Yea, his most wonderful " works are always wrought in our most weakness, as infi- " nite examples and testimonies do shewe.

" Yet mean I not to barre policie, when without breach " of Gods ordinance it may have place. For policie is " Gods gifte, either geven man immediately of God, or " gotten by study, experience, and practise, or wonne by " quickness of witt. But when God chuseth himself by " sending to us a King, whose succession is ruled by in- " heritance and lyneal descent; no heires male; it is a " plain argument, that for some secret purpose he mindeth " the female should reigne and govern," &c.

After this he proceeds to a closer combat, and undertakes to overthrow all Knox's arguments; entering upon this part with these words: " But lest this author should " thinke that I make to long a floryshe before I come to " handstrokes with him, as an evil-fenced man, that can " make a better bragge of his cunning, then, when need is, " use it, I mind before I say any more of this matter, to " buckle with him in his arguments, and to try what blowes " he gyveth. Wherein if I follow not the order that he " kepith leafe by leafe, and reason by reason, (which I " avoide, because he followeth no method,) yet I trust so " to hyt the pithe of it, that all such as be indifferent shall " think him fully answered; and he himself, with the boult- " ing out of the truth, not offendid. For I have that opin- " ion of the man's honesty and godlines, that he will not " disdayne to hear better reasons, nor be lothe to be taught " in any thing he misseth: knowing that no mans judg- " ment is so sound, no mans wytte so ripe, no mans learn- " ing so perfight, but he may sometyme misse the quissyon, " and fall into errour." The arguments, (which he acknow-

ledged to be handsomely amplified,) as he gathered them up through Knox's book, reducing them to syllogisms, were these six. CHAP. XII.

The arguments thereof.

I. That whatsoever is against nature, the same in a commonwealth is not tolerable. But the government of a woman is against nature. *Ergo* it is not tolerable.

II. Whatsoever is forbidden by Scripture is not lawful. But a woman to rule is forbidden by Scripture. *Ergo* it is not lawful.

III. If a woman may not speak in the congregation, much less may she rule. But she may not speak in the congregation. *Ergo* she may not rule.

IV. What the civil law forbiddeth, that is not lawful. But the rule of a woman the civil law forbiddeth. *Ergo* it is not lawful.

V. Seeing there followeth more inconvenience of the rule of women than of men's government; therefore it is not to be borne in a commonwealth.

VI. The Doctors and Canonists forbid it. *Ergo* it cannot be good.

Thus Aylmer drew out the substance and strength of Knox's book by reducing it into these particulars: which he called the *props* which held up this matter; or rather the *pickaxes* to undermine the State. All which he answered, article by article, with a great deal of fine wit, strong reason, handsome eloquence, and great reading of histories and authors.

After he had despatched his answer to Knox, in the conclusion of his book he treated of three things with peculiar regard unto the new Queen. I. Of the duty owing from the subject to her. II. Of the good hope that her people might conceive of her. And, III. Of the fruit of doing or balking their duty to her. Wherein his intent was (as indeed it was in the whole book) to take off all disloyal principles from her subjects, especially from such of them as professed themselves to have rejected the Popish religion, and to make them ready, both for conscience and policy sake also, to submit themselves to her government.

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This book came out nameless; and he studiously concealed himself to be known the author: whereof he gave this good reason, *viz.* "That he suppressed his name that "his pen might be freer; and that he might appear to say "of the Queen, for conscience sake, what he thought and "knew, without suspicion of flattery, or hope of benefit." And thus much for his Harborow.

His book of the supremacy.

I do not know whether he writ and published any thing else, unless perhaps concerning the Queen's *power in spirituals*, and over spiritual men; for satisfying the people in her ecclesiastical supremacy, concerning which an act was soon after the Queen's taking the sceptre to be made, and all her liege subjects to swear to it. For he gave some signification of writing on that argument in his forementioned book, where, having discoursed briefly upon it, he promised, that though he then tarried not longer in that matter, yet a time should come peradventure, when it should be more largely handled.

He was a logician.

We have seen somewhat of Aylmer's learning: indeed it was universal, being a generally learned man. He was an exact logician; and so he shewed himself in answering Knox's book, by reducing it into arguments; and then closely examining the strength thereof, and shewing the sophisms in them; going on all along in a very clear way of ratiocination, and apt distinguishing. He was a great historian. He had read Josephus, Egesippus, Berosus, Herodotus, Justin, Polybius, Livy, and divers other such authors. And out of these profane histories, as well as sacred, by many instances at large cited in his foresaid book, he shewed how under women that reigned, the commonwealth was happily preserved, and greatly flourished: first shewing this in Jewish Queens, and then in Queens of other countries: and it was one of his reprimands to Knox, that he should attempt to write of an argument that required so much knowledge and insight of ancient history, and be skilled in none but that of the Bible. "All an-"tiquity," saith he, "of time, all histories and monuments "cannot be contained in so little room: and that therefore

An historian.

"if men would decide matters hanging upon antiquity, "they must not only counsel with the Bible, but exercise "themselves in ancient stories." And then mentioned Philip Melancthon, whom he called one of the princes of learning at that day, that he travailed more in those his last years in reading, gathering, and setting forth of histories, than in any other kind of learning; "and not without "reason, added he; for histories, as he alleged out of "Tully, be the witnes of time, the candle of truth, the "life of memory, the lady of life, and the register of an-"tiquity."

Then he shewed that no antiquity ever debarred the heirs female of their right and title of inheritance, whensoever it fell to their lot to succeed their parents; as though it had been unlawful, ungodly, and unnatural for that sex to govern. And he proved the reign of women out of the histories of the Jews, Ethnics, and Christians: that in many countries, and under every monarchy, women have not only ruled, but happily and well; and that one shall find none, or very few, in whose reign their country was the worse for their government, but much the better.

First, for the Jewish history; here he mentioned Deborah; and out of the latter Jewish history he produced Johannes, Ruler of the Jews four hundred and seventy years after the captivity of Babylon, who at his death left his wife Queen and Governess. Aristobulus also left his wife Queen. Alexander left Alexandria his wife Queen of the country. The sister of Antigonus, and Salome the sister of Herod: one was Queen of Hyrcania, and the other appointed by Augustus Cæsar to rule over Jamnia, Azotus, Pharsalides, and Ascalonia; which she after left to Julia, Tiberius's mother, and Augustus's wife. This was enough to shew that the Jews were sometimes ruled by that sex.

Then he proceeded to profane history among the Gentiles, who were led by the law of nature, to shew that this was not against that law. Berosus, he said, who followed no fables, but the records of the Chaldees, writ, that Noah, which was called Janus, (for יין *Jain*, signifieth *wine*,

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which he invented,) made his daughter Crana Queen and Governess of Italy. In the monarchy of the Babylonians, (for which he quoted Herodotus,) were Semiramis and Nicocris. The former builded Babylon, conquered Ethiopia, invaded India, whither never King nor Emperor came, but Alexander the Great. The latter, wiser than the former, defended her empire against the Medes, who then sought the monarchy of the world; wrought such a wonder in that great flood Euphrates, as all men then were amazed at it, and yet think it almost incredible; for she made it to leave its old course, and to follow her device to and fro, to serve the city most commodiously: so that, as our scholar wittily expressed it, she did not only pass all men in wit, but overcame the elements with power. Among the Massagets, reigned Queen Thomyris. He mentioned also Mandane and Artemisia, women; one Cyrus's mother, and the other the wise counsellor of King Xerxes. Isis, after the death of her husband Osyris, reigned over Egypt; and that with so much provision for the wealth of the realm, that she was after her death counted a goddess. Lavinia, after the death of Æneas, reigned in Latium, Dido in Carthage, Olympias in Epirus, Aramea in Scythia, Cleopatra in Egypt, and a Queen in Illyria, who ventured to withstand the Romans when they were greatest; and Olympias, after the death of Alexander, in Macedonia: and he added somewhat of the stories of all these. This for heathen history.

Then he ran over some records among Christians. Theodora, otherwise called Helena, reigned, after the death of Leo the Emperor, over all Asia, as Lady and Empress. That in France, till of late years, women inherited the Crown as in England and Scotland; until that they meant by the law *Salique* rather to defeat us of our title, than to condemn the succession as unlawful. Henry, Duke of Suevia, son of Frederick the First, called Barbarosa, married the heir of Sicily, and so became King thereof, and Emperor of Rome. Conrade Palatinus left behind him one only daughter Agnes, who was Palatiness, and after being married to Henry Duke of Saxony, made him

Palsgrave; who in like manner died and left a daughter called Gertrude, Palatiness; whom Otto, Duke of Bavaria, married, and became Palsgrave. And the same order of descent and succession remained in the most part of the empire. Hence our historian proceeded to Spain; where, he said, he could number a great sort of women, who succeeded and ruled in the realm: as Joanna, the mother of Charles V. Mary the daughter of Charles called Bellator, and wife to Maximilian, succeeded her father in the dukedom of Burgundy and the county of Flanders. Mary, Charles's sister, ruled in Flanders in his time: and Frances, the French King's mother, ruled the whole dominion during the term of her son's captivity in Spain. And many more he mentioned in France. I have repeated all this, which he handled more at large, to shew what a general well read historian our Bishop was, even in his younger years, when he wrote that book of the lawfulness of women's government; and so well accomplished in that material piece of learning. CHAP. XII.

A good Hebrician.

And as Aylmer, as we have seen, was an excellent historian, so he was well seen in the learned tongues; and particularly in the Hebrew, a piece of learning very rare in those times: nor had he a superficial knowledge only therein, but was able by the help of it to search out truth and confute error. To give an instance or two. Whereas some had objected, that Moses's authority was not over the priest, because he was a prince, but in that he was a priest himself; and so it became lawful for him to meddle in Church matters, because he was a Churchman. And this they went about to prove from Psal. xcix. *Moses and Aaron among his* PRIESTS. Here Aylmer made use of his Hebrew learning, by shewing what the word was in the Hebrew, *viz.* כהנים (which is there translated *priests*,) but that it was a word indifferent to the chief *priests* or the chief *princes:* and therefore that such as best understood that tongue rendered it thus; *Moses et Aaron inter* MINISTROS *ejus.* And to prove that it might be so, the Scripture, he said, called David's sons *Cohanim*, by the same word,

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2 Sam. viii. 18. but no man therefore would be so fond as to say, that a King's sons were priests: yea, he added, that the best among the Hebrew authors, interpreting this word, gave it to be no more than the expression in the following clause; *Kore Shemo, Moses et Aaron, inter eos qui invocant nomen ejus*, i. e. among them that call upon his name.

His sense of the descent of Christ into hell.

It was a great controversy in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and especially more latewardly, what the meaning of that article in the Creed was, *He descended into hell.* Archbishop Whitgift, and the most of the Clergy, stood for the literal sense, that is, Christ's local descent into hell. Hugh Broughton, the profoundly learned Hebrician in those days, by his excellent and deep knowledge in the original languages, and of the use of the word (which we translate *hell*) in the sacred writings, confuted that notion of the article; and demonstrated that it meant not any local descent, but that Christ after his burial went into paradise, that is, the mansion that received his soul, that being the constant sense in Scripture of Ἅδης, and שׁוֹל, which we translate *hell* in English. That learned man had much contested in this argument with the Archbishop, Dr. Bancroft, Dr. Bilson, and others; and after much strife, at length brought off the Archbishop. This doctrine of the local descent was one of the reasons that kept off Barrow and Greenwood, the Separatists, from being present at our churches; who after they were condemned were promised pardon, if they would have come to church: but this at last was the chief, if not only, bar that stopped them, as Broughton shewed in his letter to Bancroft, now Archbishop of Canterbury. Bishop Aylmer, who was better versed in the Hebrew learning, was of Broughton's opinion, and knew that the Greek which we translate, *He went down to hell*, signified more truly his going up to heaven; and he did therefore endeavour to satisfy those two poor men before spoken of, by a friend sent to them; and that this was indeed the true sense which our Church, if it understood itself, did hold, though some of its members did make

a mistake here. But a certain Chaplain of the Archbishop's not doing his message, it had no effect: which otherwise might have saved their lives. Indeed our Bishop had some controversy with Archbishop Whitgift about this point of the descent: which the said Archbishop seemed to have required the assent of all the Clergy to; and that from his bare authority, as Archbishop of Canterbury. But the Bishop of London told him, "that some [meaning himself "among others] thought, that his title and revenue might "be employed to singular good use for the Church, with-"out authority of ambition to be relied on."

Bishop Aylmer favours Hugh Broughton.

Bishop Aylmer was a friend and a fautor of that above-said most learned man in the Hebrew literature, knowing well the great use of it in the study of divinity. Broughton had conversed much with the Jews in foreign parts, and for their sakes he bethought himself of drawing up an abridgment in Hebrew of all the Bible; and was very desirous of having the work brought to perfection. He communicated it to the Bishop of London, and to divers other Bishops, who were all for it; and would have contributed to the charge of the impression, and given other encouragements: for the Bishop well considered, that this abridgment would have served notably for the use of the Jews, that is, for their conversion, or conviction: for the drift of the work would have been, to have shewn how all the Old Testament bore an admirable harmony with those things that happened under the New. But Broughton applying not himself to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift, he shewed himself no friend to it; and so it came to nothing.

When the said Broughton had set forth his learned book called *The Concent*, the Archbishop of Canterbury disliked it, and was calling him to answer for some things in it: so that he was fain to depart, and go away into Germany, or at least hastened his journey thither, to avoid the ecclesiastical Commission. This gave cause of much discourse among learned men, and Broughton was by most of them cried out upon as a broacher of errors; and Dr. Cæsar was one of these. But their clamour depended upon their ig-

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norance in that sort of learning: and Bishop Aylmer, who was better versed in those Hebrew studies, once, while the book was talking of in the presence of the said Cæsar, said, "One scholar of right judgment would prove all adversaries "foolish." Thus he spake in effect, and more, in commendation and vindication of that great Hebrician.

His opinion of the LXX. Greek.

Our Bishop valued the Hebrew verity before the Septuagint's Greek translation of the Old Testament, of which he had no great esteem: and from his skill in the Hebrew took occasion to confute a passage in Campion the Jesuit's book, called his Ten Reasons. Casting his eye upon the first passage, he perceived he quoted a verse out of the Psalms after the LXX. much swerving from the truth of the Hebrew text, which, he said, every child understood at this day: for alleging the 63d Psalm, (where it is indeed in the Hebrew original the 74th,) he read, *Et sagittæ parvulorum erant plagæ illorum:* the text indeed is, *Sed ubi jaculis penetravit eos Deus, sagitta repentina fuerunt plagæ.* "If," added the Bishop, "he deal so in all other, "his credit will be small."

Skilled in the civil law.

He was well skilled in the civil law; concerning which he fell into some discourse, occasioned by Knox's bringing a proof out of that law against the government of women. This matter, he said, belonged not to the civil law, but to the municipal law of England. For that like as every field brought not forth all fruits, so was not one law meet for all countries. He granted the civil law was the best and the perfectest and the largest that ever was made, yet comprehended it not all things in all countries: nor at the making and gathering thereof in Justinian's time by Trebonianus, Dorotheus, and Theophilus, were all countries and provinces so known to the Romans, that they could provide all laws as should be for all necessary. Wherefore in appointing us to be ordered by the civil law, he offended in distributive justice: as Cyrus in Xenophon, he said, did, being a child; who finding a great boy to have a little coat, and a little boy a great coat, gave sentence that the great boy should have the great coat, and the little boy the little coat.

But his master corrected him for his judgment. For it was not to be judged by the greatness or smallness, but which was whose: and every one according to justice to have his own. In like manner you should not, said Aylmer to this author, looking upon the civil law, and weighing how goodly it is, how large and indifferent it is, give it, as that great coat, to England; no more than you would appoint the English law, which is the little coat, to Rome: our law must direct us, because it best agreeth with our country. Therefore, as he concluded smartly, to burden us with the civil law, is as much as if you should persuade the Scots to use the Garamantes' law, to kill men at fifty, and women at forty, because the country, being somewhat barren, could not well nourish such as by their age could do no great good. And he proceeded to shew learnedly in divers respects, wherein the English law and the civil disagree. And for the entertainment of the reader I will repeat them.

Shews the difference between the law of England, and the civil law.

" In England the eldest son inheriteth the father's lands, " saving in gavel-kind. And in mine opinion it is good " policy for the continuance of houses: for nothing sooner " destroyeth great houses, than the division of the inherit- " ance; as it appeareth in Germany, and will more here- " after in our posterity, when the younger brethren shall " not be made Abbots, Bishops, and Cardinals, as they have " hitherto been. In the civil law the children succeed in- " differently in their father's patrimony, *in feudis* the sons, " and in other both sons and daughters. *L. max. vit. ff.* " *sancimus. C. de lib. præt. Item in Autent. de Hæred. ab* " *intest. in princ. et in ff. cum filius Just. de hæred.* Where " you see not only our law far to disagree with this, but " also that the civil law granteth inheritance to the females, " which you [Knox] would pluck away.

" The civil law giveth the father power over his child in " life and death: specially that which is called *jus vetus*, " as it appeareth, *Le. 2. C. de pat. qui fil. dict. et le. in suis* " *F. de lib. et posth. C. de pat. ptatem.* But in England, if " any father should kill his son, he should be trussed up " for his labour.

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" The civil law maketh the children of traitors *infames*, " i. e. *infamous*, but committeth them not to perpetual pri- " son, as they do in England.

Tit. de leg. tute. ff. et le. et Ti. Just. de le. app. tut.

" In the civil law, the king, or lord of the soil, hath no- " thing to do with wards or tutorships, but the next of kin, " if the father in his lifetime appoint none. But in our " law, the king hath the wardship of all that hold of him " *in capite*, or knight's service. And as it was granted to " the Crown upon a necessary respect; so must it not be " pulled away, so long as the same cause remaineth. It " was given him at the first in consideration of the great " charges in war, and the small revenues that belonged to " the Crown. And though such orders seem hard, through " the abusing of them by some greedy-guts; yet the realm " having always almost continual wars with the French or " Scots, or both; whosoever goeth about to pull from the " Crown such helps, unwittingly maketh a breach for the " enemy to invade us.

Const. Just. l. fin. C.

" In the civil law, the tutorship endeth in the males at " fourteen years of age, and in the females at twelve. But " our law keepeth him in nonage until one and twenty " years.

Quand. tut. vel cur esse desinunt. C. de Nup. l. nec fit C. de Nup. l. si fil. famile. Si puel. tut. l. in convict. C. de Nup.

" The civil law bindeth not him to marry by the force of " his wardship, where his tutor will. Marriage must be " free, and in his own choice, and may not be compelled by " his father, much less by his tutor. But in England, the " tutor hath his marriage, or maketh him to pay for his li- " berty. How that cometh to pass, and how indifferent it " is, let the lawyers answer. I meddle no further than to " shew that it is so.

L. servum ff. publ. vi. cast. nu. 5. Bart.

" The civil law so favoureth life, that it granteth a trai- " tor his advocate to defend his innocency. But in our law " he can have none to speak for him, but himself. For " the fault is counted (and that justly) so heinous, that it " taketh from him all manner of help, to put others in fear.

" Again, the civil law condemneth no man, unless he ei- " ther confess the fault, or be openly convict by witness " sufficient. But our law committeth it to the verdict of

" twelve men, indwellers in the country where the trespass " is committed, who pronounce *Guilty*, if they think so, " whether he confesseth it or no: and ofttimes rather upon " their own conscience, than any great witness, or other " evidence. This order, as it was in itself at the first with- " out corruption, was marvellous conscionable and godly, " and in my judgment much better than the civil order. " For they, to wring out the confession of the fault com- " mitted, are driven to use torments, and to punish before " they have tried the fault. Wherein they are ofttimes de- " ceived, by racking those which have not offended, and " driving them for pains of torments to say that they never " did. As I have heard happened at Tubinga in the Wir- " tenbergh land, that a man was broken upon the wheel for " murdering another, which after was found alive. The " smarts of the torments made him to confess it, and lie of " himself: in monument whereof his image standeth yet " in a glass window of the church, even as he was upon " the wheel. Again, there was in England an Italian, not " long ago, who, as they say, passed through all the tor- " ments in Venice, and escaped without confessing the fault " which indeed he had committed. On the other side our " twelve men, the quest, being indwellers in the country, " and men of skill, shall learn by the circumstances, as by " the life of the man, the common fame of the people, or " their own search in the matter, whether he be such an " one or no; and so without racking, wresting, and tor- " menting, the deed may be found. But indeed at these " days it is grown to great corruption, &c. But, as I said, " this order [of the verdict of twelve men] in itself, me- " thinks, hath much more justice, equity, and indifference, " than the civil (or rather cruel) rack hath. If I should " peruse and compare all points wherein ours differ from " the civil, and shew that for our country it is much meeter, " I should never make an end." And so at length he concludes, turning his speech to him whom he is refuting: " Wherefore these shall be sufficient to shew, that you " must bring our own weights, to weigh our matters by,

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" and not strangers'; or else we must take you for an evil " clerk of the market," as he proverbially and pleasantly expressed himself. I have set down this thus largely, that the reader may see, not only his skill in the civil law, but his solid judgment in comparing that and the proper law of this realm together.

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A great Divine. Well skilled in Hebrew learning. A good Textuary and Preacher. His judgment. Some of his sayings.

Well seen in divine learning.

BUT as our Bishop was thus universally learned, so (as his holy function required) he was best seen in theology. He accurately discussed deep points in divinity: he had an excellent faculty in a sound interpretation of the sense of difficult places of Scripture. He was well read in the Fathers and ecclesiastical history, and a great preacher.

The Papists, and Scotch Protestants following John Knox, gave the supreme power in temporals only to the Prince; but retained the power in spirituals to the Church, that is, to themselves. But our Divine decided the point in his Sovereign the Queen's behalf; that she was supreme in both. " Both," said he, (in his book against the Blast,) " be- " long to her. But not in one manner. For in the one, " that of policy, she hath a function that she must be a " doer. In the other she hath authority and oversight, but " not the function and practice. As we see in the common- " wealth of the Jews first between Aaron and Moses. Moses " controlled Aaron, but yet he executed not Aaron's office. " He offered no incense nor sacrifice ordinarily; he meddled " not with the ark, nor any such thing as belonged to the " priesthood; he ware not the garments; he ministered not " the sacrifice. And yet had he authority to redress " Aaron's toils, by the commission he received at God's " hand, *Tu eris illi in Deum, et ille erit os tuum.*"

When some quoted Scripture for directing matters of worldly policy and government, as who were to govern kingdoms, and how qualified they were to be, he shewed the false divinity thereof by the practice of Christ, "who "knowing the bounds of his office," as he said, "would not "meddle with extern policies, translating of realms, de- "priving of true inheritors. No; when he was desired to "be arbiter between two brethren, he asked not how the "plea stood, but who made him an officer. Divines, me- "thinks," as he added, "should by this example not give "themselves too much the bridle, and to enlarge a scope to "meddle too far with matters of policy; as that is, where- "upon dependeth either the welfare or illfare of the whole "realm. If those two offices, *viz.* ecclesiastical and civil, be "so jumbled together, as it may be lawful for both parties "to meddle in both functions, there can be no quiet, nor "any well-ordered commonwealth."

And again, thus did he learnedly explain the foresaid words of our Saviour, *Who made me a judge between you?* as a rule, tending not to teach Christian subjects to dispose of governments, but to obey them. "As though Christ "should have said, Mine office is not to determine matters "of policy, of succession, and inheritance: for that belongs "to the civil magistrate. If he had thought that it had been "within the compass of his function, why, and with what "consequence, refused he to set those brethren at one which "were at strife, and to put that out of doubt which was in "suit, if he ought to do it? and would he not have lacked "charity, and not done his duty? If it belonged not to "him, how belonged it to any of his apostles, disciples, or "successors? Had he not as large commission as he gave? "or could he give that he had not? But knowing his office, "as the Prophet Esay had forespoken of him, to preach "the Gospel, to heal the broken, &c. he would do nothing "without warrant. And therefore being asked whether he "were a [secular] king, he answered simply by a plain ne- "gative, *My kingdom is not of this world.* If his kingdom "were not here, neither the ordering of policy was his. All

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" that he saith in this matter of policy is, *Date Cæsari quæ* " *sunt Cæsaris. Obey the magistrates, and those that be in* " *authority; not only for fear, but for conscience.* He limit- " eth no magistrates; he altereth no policy; he meddleth " neither with democraties, aristocraties, nor monarchies; nor " prescribeth whether old or young, rich or poor, learned or " unlearned, man or woman, should reign. But as he finds " them, so he leaves them; impairs none, alters none, dis- " turbs none." Thus gravely did our Divine reprove tamperers with princes' crowns, and meddlers with matters of state to the disturbance of kingdoms, whether Papists or innovators; and by a sound exposition rescue Scripture from countenancing such doctrines.

A good interpreter of the Scripture.

Indeed he had well studied the holy Scriptures, both as to the original language, history, and design thereof: whereby he became an excellent interpreter of the sense. To give a specimen or two. He gave a notable answer to his

Several places by him explained.

adversary who had made an unsound exposition of Deut. xvii. *Thou shalt choose a king among thy brethren;* and not among thy SISTERS, as he collected: and thereupon inferred, that it was unlawful for us to have QUEENS to rule over us. It is as much, said Aylmer, as if a man should say, Christ said, *I came to call sinners*, sinful MEN, *to repentance;* that is, I am come to call MEN sinners, and not WOMEN sinners. Or, saith he, as one reasoned, *Examinet se homo;* Let a MAN examine himself, and then communicate: *ergo* WOMEN may not. And Christ at the latter day saith, *Venite benedicti*, and not *benedictæ; Come, ye blessed* MEN, and not *blessed* WOMEN: therefore WOMEN shall never go to heaven. But this learned man shewed, that in all tongues the figure *synecdoche* hath a singular good grace, as he expressed it, especially in the Hebrew tongue; where אח *Ach*, which signifieth a *brother*, doth not only comprehend a *sister*, but a nephew too. And throughout the Scripture the masculine comprehends the feminine: or else surely we must say with the phrenetic Postellus, that *women* be not yet redeemed, but *men:* and that they must have a *woman* to die for them, as well as *man* had Christ. And that place of

Scripture which commanded a brother to be king among the Jews, had no relation to a *sister*, as these men made it, but to a *stranger*, as he observed. For it followed, *Thou* shalt not appoint a king *alterius gentis, of a strange nation.* And the reason of this was, for to prevent swerving from God, and falling into idolatry.

Gen. iii. *Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.* Which place when the author of the Blast had interpreted, that for the woman's enticement, it was enjoined her and her posterity, as a penance, to be at the beck and command of the man, Aylmer shewed what the common interpretation of it was; *viz.* Though both in conceiving and bringing forth thy child, thou shalt feel throes, and exceeding plagues, yet shalt thou not be able to withdraw from thy husband, but shalt give occasion to have more: the pains of the former shall not make thee to avoid the next. This he called no evil interpretation; for it answered, as he said, in the manner of the pains the quality of the offence. As who should say, Thou hast enticed thy husband to turn to thy folly, I shall therefore make thee to turn to him to thine own smart. But because some rejected this interpretation, he admitted the other, that it made for the wife's obedience to her husband; that she must hang upon him as upon her guide; follow his will, as the wiser; obey his commandment, as her superior; and, to be short, to know him for her head, and herself for his subject.

To add two or three interpretations more, setting right thereby the sense of certain places of holy writ, by the foresaid author wrested, to favour his argument against the government of women.

Isaiah iii. *I will take from you your honourable senators and your wise counsellors; and I will give you boys and women to reign over you.* Not *boys*, said he, in age, but manners. As Aristotle said of young men, that to hear philosophy, it maketh no matter for their years, but for their manners. Not *women* in sex, but in feebleness of wit; and not such as some women be, wiser, better learned, dis-

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creeter, constanter, than a number of men; but such as women be of the worst sort, fond, foolish, wanton, &c. Such shall be your senators and rulers, that shall be neither able to rule themselves nor you.

1 Cor. xiv. 1 Tim. ii. where St. Paul forbade women to speak in the congregation; and that it was an unseemly thing for them to speak. This the Apostle, he said, meant, that though he ordained that every man in the assembly ecclesiastical, about the word of God and prayer, should have leave orderly and in his course to speak and utter, for the interpretation of the Scripture, all that was revealed him by the Spirit of God; yet *women*, because they were not meet, neither by nature nor study, to preach and interpret Scriptures, he would not have to meddle with it there: and then, from Primasius and Theophylact, added, that the chiefest cause that moved Paul to take this order was the common fault that then was in that sex. For being somewhat instructed by this hearing of the Apostle in the mysteries of salvation in the cross of Christ, they began to think somewhat of themselves, and turned that was taught to edify them with, to a jangling and tattling in the Church, when they met; so that the congregation was thereby disturbed. For the avoiding whereof Paul meant to bridle them; as without doubt he would have done the *men* also, if they had prophesied unorderly. And moreover hereby the Apostle not only debarred women from prophesying, but from any public function in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Knox brought this place to shew that the Scripture disallowed a woman's government: if not to speak in the congregation, therefore not to rule; thinking that it was a formal *a minore ad majus*. But Aylmer argued, that it was not to be taken thus; Paul forbade her the less for her unaptness, therefore he debarred her of the greater: but indeed it was contrariwise, he forbade her the greater and more chargeable function; which was the spiritual ministry, and preaching: therefore it followed not, that he shut her from the less, which is extern policy. And thus, as he

concluded, we see that St. Paul thrusting that sex from the greater function and office, did not also disable it to execute the other.

Conversant in the ancient Church writers.

And as the Bishop was thus learned in the sacred Scriptures, both in the knowledge of the original tongues, and the sound sense and interpretation; so he had read the writings of the Fathers, and the history of the ancient Church of Christ: whereby he came the better to know and defend the pure and primitive doctrine in those times wherein he lived, when the corruptions of Popery had so overspread the earth.

An excellent preacher.

This learning in sacred things qualified him excellently for the discharge of the ministerial function, and the teaching others the true Christian doctrine. And he frequently and successfully preached it, both in Leicestershire, where in King Edward's days he was the only preacher, and in Lincolnshire, where he was Archdeacon; and afterward at London, and at the Court; where he preached often; and especially when invasions were feared, and rumours of wars were much spread and talked of: for he had a way of preaching that would encourage and inspire with spirit and life those that heard him. And sometime when fears were put into people's heads from the conjunction or opposition of the planets, and from figure-casting, he had these words in a sermon at Court, "As long as Virgo [meaning the "Queen] is in the ascendent, we need fear nothing. *Deus "nobiscum, quis contra nos?*" And the Queen for this used much to commend him.

A preacher, how to be qualified in his judgment.

As he could also by his preaching raise fearful minds, and inspire them with courage in a good cause; so in applying himself to sinners' consciences, he would use all freedom and boldness, let the quality of his auditors be what it would. He could not endure temporising and flattery in a preacher; and reckoned other great abilities, as of learning, integrity, zeal, and wisdom, to be necessary to such an one. He said, "that those that were preachers must be no milk-"sops, no white-livered gentlemen, [according to his fami-"liar way of expression,] that for the frowning and cloudy

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" countenance of every man in authority will leave his " tackle, and cry *Peccavi.* They must be of such a nature " as the poet Terence said of Crito, *In vultu gravitas, in* " *verbo fides;* to have gravity in his countenance, and " faithfulness in his speech. That they should not be afraid " to rebuke the proudest, no, not kings and queens, so far " forth as the two tables reach: that they stoop not to " every man's beck, nor study to please men more than " God. If heresies arise, they must have their tools ready " to meet with the adversary, and to overthrow him; which," as he added, " he could never have, unless he had travailed " in many sciences, heard and read much, &c.: for it was " not enough," he said, " for a man to tell a fair tale in the " pulpit, and when he came down was not able to defend " it." And again, "in such as shall occupy the pulpit are re- " quired these things, that they be meet to teach, to reprove, " and convince. In teaching is required gravity, learning, " and eloquence; in reproving, carriage and sound judg- " ment; and in convincing, arts, memory, and much sci- " ence."

Curious in books.

All this I have said, that it might be seen what his great abilities were in learning. And, according to the usual inclination of such as are scholars, he was a lover of, and searcher after books, and especially of such as were more rare and curious. While he was in exile he saw a piece of *Wiclif de Ecclesia*, which treated of the Church and Churchmen, and the abuses and corruptions superinduced by them. He chanced to meet with it in the hands of one who brought it out of Bohemia; and he wished it were put into print: whence, as he said, the Popish Bishops might see their wrenches and cavillations concerning their great estates, and their pretended hospitality to be maintained thereby. And this I the rather mention, because I think this tract of Wiclif is not mentioned among the catalogue of his writings set down in Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria.*

A good judge of learning.

And as he was a truly learned man himself, so he was a good judge of learning and languages, being an exact critic.

Insomuch that John Fox the Martyrologist, in one of his letters to him, (while they were both exiles,) praised him for his singular judgment, and that mixed with a *snowy candour*. And when the same Fox had sent him a translation of his into Latin, (I think it was Archbishop Cranmer's last book of the Eucharist, with his confutation of the Bishop of Winchester,) he prayed him narrowly to peruse it, in order to his printing of it at Basil, where Fox then was: for that he was resolved, as he said, to stand to his judgment alone; and that it should be approved or rejected according to his only censure. Which address made Aylmer give a character of himself varying from what Fox had given, (wherein, perhaps, the learned man was over-severe towards himself;) namely, "That he was too critical in other men's "performances, and too blind in the conceit of his own." The former he called *in alienis curiositas, et ingenium nimis* ἐπιτιμητικὸν, i. e. "a curiosity in other men's matters, and "a disposition too much addicted to find fault." *Sum enim*, as he added, *ut vere de me ipso dicam, ex eorum numero, qui facilius reprehendunt quam emendant; ut vinoris multo negotii est solvere quam componere, et, ut philosophis placet, destruere quam ædificare:* i. e. "For I am, to "speak the truth of myself, of the number of them that "are more ready to find fault than to amend; as it is a "much less labour to dissolve than to frame, and, as the "philosophers speak, to pull down than to build up. Do "not therefore doubt of me," speaking to Fox, "that I am "too candid, but doubt that I be not more rigid than pru-"dent, and a lover of mine own beauty more than is fit, "and a less esteemer of the beauty of others. But besides, "this is a quality peculiar to me, (for let me set forth to "you my virtues,) that I look upon the things of others "with *lyncean* and too piercing eyes, even then especially "when I am purblind in mine own. Whereupon those "that know me are wont to reprove my more delicate judg-"ment and rigid censoriousness, rather than to esteem me "a man that think over-candidly and kindly even of my "best and dearest friends."

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After all that I have said here concerning our Prelate's learning, we may take some notice of his judgment and opinion in a few things that occur. There was a sort of people even in his time, (like our modern Quakers,) who counted it idolatry to pull off the hat, or give reverence even to princes. These were, I suppose, of the sect of the Anabaptists in those days. Of whom thus did our Divine give his opinion: "I think it no idolatry, as some men use to term "it, either to bare the head or bow the knee to the chiefest "minister of God, [the Prince;] yea, if thou dost it not, "thou makest an idol of thyself, while thou liftest up thy "baseness to that height, that thou wilt not stoop where "thou oughtest, nor give honour where thou shouldest. "What is else to make an idol of thyself, but to honour "thyself where thou oughtest not; and to pull down God's "majesty, [represented by the Prince,] where thou should-"est not?"

Some of his thoughts concerning various matters.

Quakers.

He was once of opinion, namely, when Queen Elizabeth first began her reign, concerning Bishops' lands and incomes, that a good share of their temporalties should come into the Queen's hands; partly to maintain her wars, and partly to build schools, and to be a maintenance for preachers in every parish, and superintendents in every city. This he expressed thus, turning his speech to the Bishops in those times, "Come off, ye Bishops; away with your superfluities; "yield up your thousands; be content with hundreds, &c." as was mentioned before. This was a principle embraced and taken up by many such as favoured the Gospel from the times that Henry VIII. seized the lands of the abbeys; when the shew was, that those revenues, idly and luxuriously employed, should come to the Crown for better uses; as to be laid out upon maintaining the King's wars without taxing the subject; furthering of learning by building a great many schools, founding more bishoprics, and such like charitable donations. But the courtiers about the King soon subverted those good purposes, by obtaining those demeans to themselves, and a very poor share thereof disposed according as was pretended. And Bishop Aylmer after-

His opinion of Bishops' lands.

Harborough.

wards well saw the same greedy spirit still in the Court: and therefore changed his mind, and thought the Bishops had as good retain their ancient revenues, as to see them run away with by the laity, and little good done with them. And when this passage of his was sometimes afterward thrown in his dish, he would say, as St. Paul did in another case, *Cum essem parvulus, loquebar cum parvulis, sapiebam ut parvulus:* i. e. "When I was a child, I spake as a "child, I thought as a child, &c." CHAP. XIII.

Take also a few instances of his judgment in matters of worldly state and policy.

His opinion of the proper government of this nation was this: "The regiment of England is not a mere *monarchy*, "as some for lack of consideration think; nor a mere *oli-* "*garchy*, nor *democratie;* but a mixed rule of all these: "wherein each one of these have, or should have, like au- "thority. The image whereof, and not the image but the "thing indeed, is to be seen in the Parliament House; "wherein you shall find these three estates, the King or "Queen, which representeth the *monarchy;* the Noblemen, "which be the *aristocratie;* and the Burgesses and Knights, "the *democratie.* The very same had Lacedæmonia, the "noblest and best governed city that ever was. They had "their King, their senate, and *hippagretes*, which were for "the people. As in Lacedæmonia none of these could "make or break laws, orders for war or peace, or do any "thing without the other; the King nothing without the "Senate and Commons, nor either of them, or both, without "the King: albeit the senate and *ephori* had greater au- "thority than the King had. In like manner, if the Par- "liament use their privileges, the King can ordain nothing "without them: if he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and "their folly in permitting it. Wherefore," as he added, "those, in his judgment, that in King Henry's days would "not grant him, that proclamations should have the force "of a statute, were good fathers of the country, and wor- "thy commendation in defending their liberty." His opinion of this government.

He notably decided which of the two Queen sisters, Mary Compares the two

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Queens, Mary and Elizabeth.

or Elizabeth, was wisest, in respect of the different choice they made of their counsellors. And for that purpose he set the two sorts of Rehoboam's counsellors before those to whom he made his discourse. The grave and the ancient senators, those Queen Elizabeth chose: but the rash younger sort, those Queen Mary chose. "These," as he described them, "advised that King not to spare, but to lay about "him, to chop off their heads, to tower them, hang them, "burn them, away with them: Dead men do no harm: "and to make his little finger heavier upon his people than "was his father's body. These were lusty lads, these were "such as would win all or lose all." Thus Aylmer, under the colour of Rehoboam's rash counsellors, made a lively representation of Queen Mary's. But her sister Queen shewed her wisdom in making another choice. For she, said he, picked out such counsellors to serve her as were neither of common wit nor common experience. Of whom some by travel in strange countries, some by learning, some by practice and like authority in other rulers' days, some by affliction either one way or other, for their gifts and graces, which they had received at God's hand, were men meet to be called to such rooms. He added, (to take off an objection,) that if she could, she would have chose her Council wholly of the nobility, she being herself the head of that order and patroness; but if she espied out meaner men of greater experience, further reach, and more science than they were, there was no fear but the nobles, both for their own safety and the Queen's, would gladly lot to themselves such as might put them in mind of things they remembered not. By which words, I make no doubt, he had his eye upon Bacon and Cecil, whom, though not noble by birth, the Queen had taken into her Council.

His judgment of the Queen's marriage.

His judgment of the Queen's marriage, (which solicitously exercised all men's thoughts and cares at this time,) whether better to marry to some within her own kingdom, or some foreign Prince, he thus expressed; "That if all things "answered, it was better joining at home than choosing

" abroad: as if he be no very base or mean person; if he " love and fear God; if he be of the same religion, endued " with good and commendable qualities of wisdom, justice, " manhood, temperance, gifts of languages, knowledge of " countries, pitiful, merciful, constant, sober, no hearer of " flatterers, continent, not prodigal, but liberal, no extorter, " &c. such an one, if God should allot any Queen, were to " be preferred to any abroad. Unless all these," he said, " might be found in a stranger: and thereto joined nobility, " and ancientness of lineage, and the nation being such as " used not to rule cruelly, but rather fatherly than lordly." We easily perceive what foreign Prince he excluded by those words, namely, proud King Philip; who had already made his addresses to the Queen: and she most discreetly had declined him.

His judgment of the French he shewed in these words; " That they were the proudest, the untruest, and the most " tyrannical nation under the sun. I except not," said he, " the Spaniards: whose dominion the Italians in Milan, " Naples, Sicily, and elsewhere, can much better brook and " abide, than the *light and inconstant French*, as Cæsar " called them." His judgment of the French.

Of the Spaniard, another powerful neighbour of England, these were his thoughts with respect to Queen Elizabeth's late denial of him. " If kings be wooers and no speeders, " there can be small hopes that they will be faithful friends " after: for great men cannot bear great repulses; espe- " cially when their power is such as they can, when they " will, revenge it. A mind or heart," added he, " where love " hath dwelt, if it begin once to hate, is like a sponge, " which sucketh up as much water of malice, as it had " before honey." Of the Spaniard.

A man's wisdom and judgment, and a great deal of his mind and sentiments, become known by his ordinary speeches and expressions. And for this purpose I shall rehearse here divers of our Bishop's proverbial sayings and apophthegms. His proverbial sayings.

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" If thou hast the forecast of a wise man, thou wilt be " content with a little, to purchase the safety of the whole."

" Be not covetous where thou shouldest be liberal, nor " unkind where thou shouldest be thankful, nor wayward " where thou shouldest be forward."

" Take to thee the stomach of a free palfrey, and not the " froward touches of a resty jade."

" As it is God's peculiar property never to err, so it is a " botch in man's nature seldom to hit the truth."

" Sometimes under a homely coat lieth much treasure, " and pure gold is found among much dross."

True fraternity.

" It is manners, faith, and behaviour, and not nations, " that make men strangers. And contrariwise, where there " is one faith, one baptism, and one Christ, there is nar- " rower fraternity than if they came out of one womb." A saying proper to cheer him in his exile condition.

" As an eye full of tears is the more unable to see, so the " mind full of sorrow is the less able to judge."

" You must bring our own weights to weigh our matters " by, and not strangers', or else we must take you for an ill " clerk of the market."

" Good example is ofttimes much better than a great " deal of preaching."

The benefit of counsellors.

" If I had but ten Nestors, said Agamemnon, Troy " could not stand long:" speaking of some wise counsellors the Queen had chose about her.

Speaking against covetous men, " Your gold and your " angels are called *current*, and not *sleepant*."

Women's pride.

Speaking of the pride of women, and of their excess, when the nation wanted necessary defence, he thus accosted them: " Oh! ye English ladies, learn rather to wear Ro- " man hearts, than Spanish knacks; rather to help your " country, than hinder your husbands; to make your Queen " rich for your defence, than your husbands poor for your " gearish gayness. If every one of you would employ your " rings and chains, or the price of your superfluous ruffs, " furs, fringes, and such other trinkets, upon the necessary

" defence of your country, I think you should make the " Queen much richer, and abler to meet with your enemies, " and yourselves much the honester." CHAP. XIII.

The Popish Clergy he called " spiritual spiders." And Bonner, the fat, cruel Bishop of London, he called " My " Lord Lubber of London." The Popish Clergy.

The Bible he called " a Paradise, wherein are to be found " all the best herbs and fruits that be." The Bible.

" A good purpose overthrown by the might of mam- " mon."

" No man's judgment is so sound, no man's wit so ripe, " nor his learning so perfect, but he may sometime miss the " quission." No infallibility.

" As a man that would buy a house, will not so much " weigh the gay painting as the sure building; so who " will judge of any matter truly, must lay it before his eyes " nakedly."

" Miracles are not the work, but the impediment of na- " ture." Miracles.

" The breach of good laws is the breakneck of the " country."

Speaking of some ignorant persons that yet will talk and prate, he said, " They were like a certain Sir John, which " said, By my priesthood, if the *Trinity* were not in my " *portas*, I would not believe it."

He compared a false argument, cunningly set out with words, " to a well kembed bush, where never a hair lay " amiss, so long as the man had a house to cover him: but " when he comes into the wind, it is soon ruffled. Or like " a painted madam's face, which, so long as nobody blows " upon it, nor sweat riseth in it, is gay glistering: but any " of these means maketh the wrinkles soon appear. So is a " false argument decked with fair words: it seemeth good, " but turn it naked, and you shall soon see the botches." A false argument.

He made women to be of two sorts, " some of them " wiser, better learned, discreeter, and more constant than a " number of men." But another and a worse sort of them, and the most part, he thus facetiously, but sharply de- Women.

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scribed; "Fond, foolish, wanton, flibbergibbs, tattlers, "triflers, wavering, witless, without counsel, feeble, careless, "rash, proud, dainty, nice, tale-bearers, eves-droppers, ru- "mour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and in every "wise doltified with the dregs of the Devil's dunghill."

Neglect of good counsel.

Shewing how misery and unsuccessfulness happened to Xerxes, that powerful and mighty emperor, for neglecting the good counsel of Artimisia in Herodotus, having lost his vast army, "He went home," said he, "not like a king, but "like a coxcomb: not like a conqueror, but like a coward: "not like a man, but like a mouse, in a fisher-boat with one "or two with him; though he brought out so many [sol- "diers] with him, as it is almost in these days incredible."

Acquiescence in God.

"The safest way is to let him do his will which can do "best; and which can see plainly what will follow, where "we blindly guess, and do but grope at it:" spoken in reference to our acquiescence in the providence of God.

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His qualities, conditions, and temper of mind.

His temper and disposition.

WE have not yet said all that is sufficient to describe the character of this reverend Father: for we have not all this while looked into his nature, temper, disposition, and the inward tendencies of his mind.

Zealous for the true religion.

And first, for his sense of God and religion, and discharge of his duty. He was deeply and heartily concerned for the true religion in opposition to Popery; and from the beginning was a hearty embracer of the reformed religion, and an earnest Protestant: he was deeply sensible of the wonderful goodness of God, in detecting and delivering us from the gross errors of Popery. This was once his con-

His opinion of Luther.

templation concerning Luther: "When the light of the "Gospel was put out, and Antichrist ruled and revelled in "the temple of God, (which is men's hearts and con-

" sciences,) armed and guarded with the power of emperors, " kings, princes, and laws, beyond all men's expectations, " contrary to hope, a poor Friar, one man, at that time not " the best learned, through the mighty hand of God, ac- " cording to his unsearchable decree, was able, not with " force and armour, not with bands of men and power, not " with favour of princes and prelates, not with any help " of man or favour of the world, to set up the cross of " Christ, to pull down the chair of Antichrist, to restore " God's word, to banish the Devil's sophistry, to make of " darkness light, of lies truth, of plain foolishness true wis- " dom; and as it were another Helena, to find out the " cross of Christ hidden in the dunghill of devilish doc- " trine, covered with the rotten bones of Romish martyrs, " sinful saints, and counterfeit confessors."

His prayer for a great minister.

And when about the year 1577 great fears were in all men's hearts from the joint conspiracies of Popish Princes abroad, and the Scotch Queen's accomplices at home, against the peace and quiet of England, the Bishop knowing what a great minister of state the Lord Treasurer was, and what a chief hand he had in the counsels and government, fell to his prayers, and most earnestly beseeched God to give that great Counsellor "the eyes of angels and the wisdom of " Solomon;" styling him "God's great and good instru- " ment in this poor ark of Noah in these dangerous times."

His zeal against the French King, a persecutor.

And concerning Henry the French King, a deadly oppressor of his poor Protestant subjects, who had also joined in league with the Turk, Christ's sworn enemy, (by means of which league the Turk fell upon some Christian kingdoms,) he zealously brake out into these words: " He, a " King or a Devil, a Christian or a Lucifer, that by his " cursed confederacy so encourageth the Turk, that he now " dares be bold to venture upon Polonia, a Christian realm, " which hath received the Gospel, and that way to come " into Germany. Oh! wicked caitiff, and firebrand of " hell, [pardon, reader, this language to his zeal,] which, " for the increasing of the pomp and vain-glory which he " shall not long enjoy, [mark that,] will betray Christ and

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" his cross to his mortal enemy. Oh! foolish Germans, " which see not their own undoing, [which Germans were " his soldiers, or favoured him,] who conspire not together " with the rest of Christian Princes, to pull such a traitor " to God and his kingdom by the ears out of France, and " hang him against the sun a drying, &c. God cannot long " suffer this, though he wink a while at his wretchedness." One would think our Divine spake these words by a prophetic spirit, when we consider the event. For it was not much above a quarter of a year after that this King indeed died, *viz.* July 10, 1559, and that in the flower of his age, being forty-two years old; and, which is more remarkable, not by a common death, but God made a new thing: and he was thrust into the eye by a lance, notwithstanding his head-piece, in tilting with one of his nobles, that he commanded to run with him, though earnestly declining it. Whereby his head festered, and he died in miserable pain and anguish.

Diligent and painful.

In the discharge of his duty, the Bishop was very conscientious and exact, and spared for no pains, being naturally an active and stirring man: and so he was particularly in his episcopal function. One part of his diligence consisted in pressing a due conformity unto the laws and orders of the Church established: and that because he thought it the best bulwark to secure from Popery. This was the cause he spared neither Papist nor Puritan. Whereby he drew upon himself the hatred of both: but especially that of the Puritan appeared most visibly against him; setting Martin Marprelate loose upon him, and giving him all the trouble they could any other way, as we have seen in part in the foregoing history.

Not to be tempted by bribes.

Nor was he a man to be biassed by any temptation, or blinded by gifts. An instance of this happened in the year 1581; when a certain prisoner, (some Papist, as it seems,) sent a letter to him, wherein was some signification of a liberal gratification offered for his favour, perhaps to procure him liberty some clancular way: or whether it were a contrivance to betray him into some unwarrantable action,

and a plot laid for him to bring him into trouble, I know not. But the Bishop shewed himself above these temptations of money, and took the letter and enclosed it in one of his, and sent it to the Lord Treasurer, telling him that the meaning he understood not, but that the writer would angle for him with a golden hook: that he knew his Lordship's wisdom could smell out the meaning of such matters better than he, and therefore thought good to make his Lordship privy to it: and then to proceed as he should direct him: adding, that he could not think that any of that religion could have any good meaning towards him.

His devotion.

He and his whole family every day in the week twice were present at, and joined with the whole divine service; calling upon God for a blessing upon themselves, the State, and the Queen's Majesty: and by that means putting up frequent devout prayers for her and her kingdoms.

Punctual in his visitation;

He duly observed his triennial visitations. And because his presence might be of advantage to the promoting of sobriety in manners, and obedience to the ecclesiastical constitution, he would often make some longer stay in several places of his diocese, where conveniently he might; and that for a month or two, before his return home: as to see abuses rectified, to hear complaints, to give his counsel and advice to such as needed it, to observe the behaviours of the Clergy, to preach himself, to keep hospitality, and such like.

And ordination of Ministers.

In his ordination of Ministers he was very punctual and careful: admitting none to Orders but such as himself did examine in his own person in points of divinity, and that in the Latin tongue, in the hearing of many; whereby it came to pass, that none lightly came at him, but such as were graduates, and of the Universities.

Quick and hot in his temper.

For his natural temper, he was quick and hot; as many great spirits have been: and this would sometimes lead him out into haste and passion: but he had the wisdom and conduct soon to check and take up himself again. Once the Bishop was very angry with the Lord Treasurer Burghley, otherwise his very cordial friend, charging him somewhat too hardly in respect of the friendship between

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them: for which the Bishop soon excused himself by reason of his natural hastiness. The Treasurer had heard how he had felled much wood pertaining to the revenues of the see, to the prejudice of it, which caused that great minister of state, according as he reckoned it his duty, to tell him plainly of the waste of his woods. The Bishop gave the Treasurer a quick answer, knowing his own innocency, and the informations brought to the said Lord to be malicious; saying that these reports were all *indigested surmises;* and that whether he [the Treasurer] were one to bring him to the bishopric, he knew not; but if he would procure to bring him out, he assured him he would thank him for it: and that he would stand to the justifying of his doings. He took this opportunity to complain to the said Lord, how he had checked him at other times for his urging so much some ceremonious points, and the rigour of his ecclesiastical officers. He wrote his mind at large concerning these matters to the said Lord: "That "it grieved him, that my Lord Treasurer was counted to "have a miscontented mind towards the Bishop of London. "He was sure he had given him no just cause; but con- "trariwise had as much honoured him in all times and "everywise as any man in England. That God would "touch his heart, when he should think best, and move him "to remember, *non occidat sol super iracundiam vestram.* "That he could have no great victory over him, if he "should displace him, as he had told him a Bishop once "was. Nay, he would thank him. And the charge being "so importable, his old years growing on, the beggaring of "himself, the wearing of his body, the thanklessness of the "office, the continual discouragement, especially of late, "made him he even upon his knees prayed, that he [the "Treasurer] or some other would help him away, even to "lead a private life. And therefore that no man should "need to sift much his doings, for *habebitis reum confiten-* "*tem.*

Expostulates with the Lord Treasurer.

"And to be plain with you, my Lord, [as he proceeded,] "you are the man that do most discourage me, not in these

" points, (whereof I make no account,) but in that by your " words and countenance my government is hindered. For " when such words shall pass from you, that such and such " things be not of the substance of religion; that the eccle- " siastical jurisdiction (which you yourself by statute have " confirmed) is mere Papal; that you would such and such " should preach, which are disturbers, &c. it cannot be, my " Lord, but three words from your mouth *hujus generis* " shall more embolden them and hinder our labours, than " our toil and moil shall in many years be able to help and " salve. These are the things, my Lord, that do discou- " rage me, and make me weary, that on the one side we " shall be bawled on by them; and not backed nor counte- " nanced by such great magistrates as you are: and there- " with for my part so oppressed with business, (enough for " any three,) without either help, reward, or thanks, it must " needs make us desperate, as by my writing you may see " I am. For I cannot live this life, nor joy greatly in my " state, where I always toil *tanquam in pistrino*, and dwell " in suspicion of your good-will, &c. I have a clear con- " science that I ever deserved well at your Lordship's hand, " and never ill. And therefore, whatsoever shall happen, I " stand clear before God."

But as he would be thus hot sometimes, so his heat would be soon over, and he would recall himself, and bring himself into a cooler temper; as he did in the conclusion of all this expostulatory epistle with the Treasurer; which ran after this tenor: " I know this is no time to hold your " Lordship thus long, but that very grief of mind makes " me to deal with your Lordship as Job did with God; to- " ward whom, in his passion, he sometimes forgat himself. " So I may seem to pass the limits of my duty. But if it " may please you with this to forgive and forget all the " rest, I shall be as ready to seek your favour as any man's " alive: which if I cannot obtain, there is one above that " will one day reprove you and chide you. Thus God " bless your Lordship as I would be blessed myself." This was writ in May 1579.

This letter shews us Bishop Aylmer's grief, and some-

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what of his spirit, tending to impatience; which however he had the grace to master, and not long to give way to. But lest, by the abovesaid challenges and charges of that most excellent Statesman, any sinister opinion might be left in men's minds concerning him, I shall subjoin his answer to the Bishop, wrote the very same day; wherein may appear that most admirable, wise, and serene temper that he was master of.

The Lord Treasurer's answer.

"My good Lord, your Lordship's letter is too full of choler for me to answer directly without adding of choler: "and so I should *addere oleum igni*, i. e. add oil to the fire. "But I am otherwise disposed, both for reverence to your "spiritual vocation, and for charity to mine old familiar acquaintance. For the opinion by you conceived of me, as "not bearing you good-will, surely your Lordship therein "doth misinform yourself: and for answer *coram Domino*, "I protest that I bear you no kind of disfavour. That I "have said to you of your wasting of timber, I spake as a "public officer, and will speak the like upon like occasion "to any of your estate, how dearly soever I shall love them.

"For reprehension of the common misusage by Bishops' "Chancellors, Commissaries, Summoners, and such like, I "say, with grief of mind, that I see therein no true use of "the discipline meant at the first erection of those officers, "(which I allow well of,) but a corrupting of them to private gain, and not to the public benefit, and edifying of "the Church. And it grieveth me to see the fond, light, "pretended reformers, to have occasion ministered unwisely "to condemn the offices, where they should condemn the "misuse thereof.

"And so, my Lord, lest in much writing I should by "heat of argument stir your choler, I end, and pardon "your taunts sparkled in your letters.

"Your Lordship's with reverence
"and Christian charity,
"W. Burghley."

Westminster, May 26, 1579.

But to return to our Bishop: as he was somewhat hasty and quick in his temper, as we have heard, so he was quick and sharp in his discourse; and his expressions were mingled with pungency and pleasure. When he was arguing with Knox, in respect of his book against the reign of women, whereby he touched hard upon Queen Elizabeth, he had these words; "It is a great enterprise, and, as they "say, no ball-play, to pull a Queen's crown off her head; "and especially such an one as many ages have not seen."

Sharp in his discourse.

When the same author had pretended Scripture against the rule of women, he said in general, "I must say to "them all in general, that the Scripture meddleth with no "civil policy, further than to teach obedience. And there-"fore whatsoever is brought out of the Scripture concern-"ing any kind of regiment, is without the book pulled into "the game-place by the ears, to wrestle whether it will "or no."

Speaking concerning the marriage of Queen Mary to King Philip, so unfortunate to England, he used these words; "Cyrus, that noble Persian, sent to Thomaris, "Queen of the Massagetes, for marriage. To whom she "made answer, that she knew his meaning was to marry "her kingdom, and not her. Which answer if Queen "Mary had given to Philip, Calais, Hammes, and Guisnes "had not been lost; nor the good Lady, her sister and our "Sovereign, so left in the briers; beset about on every side "almost with mighty enemies, impoverished and robbed of "her common treasure, and her subjects so fleeced, that "they must scrape near the bones that will get any "more."

His words concerning Queen Mary's match with KingPhilip;

Mentioning Queen Mary's Parliament, that took the Pope's absolution from Cardinal Pole on their knees, he said, "They stooped upon their marrow-bones to receive "the Devil's blessing, brought them by Satan's apostle, "the Cardinal."

And the Parliament's receiving absolution from Cardinal Pole.

When certain arguments were brought, dressed and flourished over, to prove an error, and he was taking them into examination, "I will," said he, "turn the arguments out

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" of their clouts, and consider them as they be in them-
" selves."

Facetious.

For he would also mix a facetiousness with his discourses. When Knox would have proved the unlawfulness of women's government from that place in Isaiah, *I will take from you your honourable senators and your wise counsellors, and I will give you boys and women to reign over you;* he confuted it by saying, that it was not meant of boys in age, but in manners; not of women in sex, but in feebleness of wit: and then added, divertingly, that this argument therefore arose of wrong understanding the word. As

His story of the Vicar of Trumpington.

the Vicar of Trumpington, said he, understood *Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani*, when he read the Passion upon Palm-Sunday. Coming to which place he stopped, and calling the churchwardens, said, " Neighbours, this gear must be " amended. Here is *Eli* twice in the book. I assure you, " if my Lord of Eli come this way and see it, he will have " the book, [since his name was in it.] Therefore by mine " advice we shall scrape it out, and put in our own town's " name, *viz. Trumpington, Trumpington, lama sabac-* " *thani.*" They consented, and he did so, because he understood no better. So they that use this place for a weapon against this matter do fault in *homonymia;* not considering that words have proper significations and translations.

Judges, drudges.

And once speaking to the Judges, " Some in sport," said he, " call you *drudges*, and not judges; but I think in good " earnest, that it is contrary, that you make yourselves " lords, and all other drudges."

He called the Under Sheriff Under Thief.

The Under Sheriff he would call the *Under Thief;* the jurymen, or the questmen, the *questmongers*, and sometimes the *curstmongers*. And he thus once facetiously as well as sharply delivered his mind concerning the unjust measures that poor men often received by their means: " Be-
" tween the High Thief and the Under Thief, my Lord
" [the lord of the manor, or chief nobleman] and the
" curstmongers, [the choice of whom was influenced by my
" Lord,] poor men are outweighed."

The Bishop was a man of a bold spirit, and feared nobody. Concerning which courage he once said, that "two "things made him so; the one, that he neither feared nor "cared for any loss of his place, [which had so much of "care and vexation;] the other, a clear conscience." Bold.

He took a great freedom to speak his mind, whosoever was worthy to be reproved, and whatsoever sins or evil customs were to be checked. It was a sharp reproof he gave the nobility in his time, which had been the occasions of abusing that ancient good custom of the verdict of twelve men for deciding criminal matters, and of *meum* and *tuum*. "If there be," said he, "any nobleman dwelling in the "country, either a duke, a marquis, an earl, or baron; "he shall lightly have in his retinue all the cobbs in the "country, which be the questmongers, [as he styled the "*questmen*.] And if any matters be touching him, his "man, or his friend, whether it be a crime capital or *nisi* "*prius*, sent down for lands, the case shall weigh as he "will. For his detainers [as he called *retainers*] must "needs have an eye to my Lord, though they should go to "the devil for it. And so be some innocents knit up, and "some offenders delivered, and some titles of inheritance "lost, against all justice and right. Another is, if my lord "will not offend the statute of *retinue*, then must the High "Sheriff be his friend, and the Under Thief (*Under Sheriff* "I should say) his man. He empanelleth the quest, either "such as dare not displease my lord, or for good-will will "not. And so that way, betwixt the *High Thief* and the "*Under Thief*, my Lord and the *curstmongers*, poor men "are outweighed. This corruption, if it be not looked to, "will make this order, [of the jury of twelve,] which was "the best that could be, to be the wickedest that can "be." Free in speech.

Thus he would in a blunt way freely deliver his mind; especially when it was needful the truth should be spoken for vindication of innocence or reproof of sin, let it be before the greatest person. Hence, after he had taken the liberty once to say what he thought in some certain matter Blunt in words.

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to a great lord, he acknowledged *that he was no good courtier*, and excused himself by his *plain nature*.

Stout and courageous.

All this that I have said already sheweth him to have been of a great stomach. Indeed he had a natural courage: which appeared also not in words only, as we saw before, but sometimes even in deeds: for the Bishop was a man of his arms, and would not turn his back for any man. Sir John Harrington, who lived in this Bishop's time, and knew him, tells us, that when he was an old man, when no other correction nor sober advice would do his unthrifty son-in-law any good, he took him into an inner room, where they were alone, and cudgelled him soundly. And methinks those words of his in the description of a preacher intimated his skill in fighting as well as preaching. "It is not enough," said he, "for a man to tell a fair tale "in the pulpit, and when he comes down is not able to "defend it. If preachers and spiritual men be such, where "be we, when we come to hand-gripes? They must not "only flourish, but they must know their quarter-strokes, "and the way how to defend their head; their head "Christ, I say, and his cross."

An odd instance of his courage before the Queen.

And now we are fallen upon this argument, I will not omit a tradition that goeth in the family of the Aylmers, of the Bishop's stout heart in a pretty odd instance, namely, in causing one of his teeth to be drawn once in the Queen's presence, for the better encouraging her to undergo that present pain for her own quiet and ease afterwards: and indeed I find she was once so disquieted with the toothach, that it gave a concern to all the Court. It was in the month of December 1578, when she was so excessively tormented with that distemper, that she had no intermission day nor night, and it forced her to pass whole nights without taking any rest; and came to that extremity, that her physicians were called in and consulted. These differed among themselves as to the cause of the distemper, and what means were properest to be used. There was then an outlandish physician of some note, it seems, for giving ease in this anguish, whose name was John Anthony Fenotus; him the Lords of the

Council sent for, and required, or rather commanded him to give his advice in writing, to procure the Queen ease. Whereupon he wrote a long Latin letter which I have seen: first, disabling himself to come after such great physicians; and then prescribing divers remedies. But in case the tooth were hollow, his advice then was, that when all was done, it was best to have it drawn out, though with the incurring some short pain. But if her Majesty could not submit to such chirurgical instruments, (which it seems he had heard something of the Queen's abhorrence of,) then he advised that the juice of *chelidonius major* might be put into the tooth, and so stopped with wax, that none of it might fall upon the sound parts; whereby the tooth would in a short time be so loose that it might be pulled out by the fingers: or the root of it might be rubbed upon the tooth, and it would have the same effect. But in short, the pulling it out was esteemed by all the safest way; to which, however, the Queen, as was said, was very averse, as afraid of the acute pain that accompanied it. And now it seems it was that the Bishop of London being present, a man of high courage, persuaded her that the pain was not so much, and not at all to be dreaded; and to convince her thereof told her, she should have a sensible experiment of it in himself, though he were an old man, and had not many teeth to spare; and immediately bade the surgeon come and pull out one of his teeth, (perhaps a decayed one,) in her Majesty's presence. Which accordingly was done: and she was hereby encouraged to submit to the operation herself. CHAP. XIV.

His recreation.

The recreation which he delighted in was bowling; which he used for the diversion of his cares, and preservation of his health at Fulham, according as he had leisure. This exercise he used on Sundays, in the afternoon, after evening prayer. And herein he would be so eager, that he sometimes had such expressions in his game as exposed him to the censure of many, especially of his enemies. Hence Martin Marprelate spake of his running after his bowl, and crying *Rub, Rub, Rub;* and then, *The Devil go with it,*

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when he followed himself. And again on another occasion, "that he would spare him for that time, because it may be "he was at his bowls; and it was pity to trouble him, lest "he swore."

His personage.

But now at last to wind up in short my accounts of this Bishop, and to draw towards a conclusion. As to his person, he was mean of stature, but of courage great, and very valiant in his youth; which quality departed not from him when he was old. He wore a long gray beard. A good original picture of him is preserved to this day, or at least did lately remain, in the town of Bishops Stortford, fastened into the wainscot of an house there, once inhabited by Mr. Aylmer, an apothecary, that derived himself from him.

The picture is now in the possession of Mr. Aylmer, of Chelmsford.

His household.

He kept a regular well-ordered family, duly observing the hours of prayer twice in the day, whereat he himself was constantly present when he was at home, with the rest of his officers, chaplains, and servants; the number of which consisted of above fourscore persons. And he was a good master, friend, and father to them and his dependents. Among the rest of his Chaplains, Dr. Vaughan was one, Archdeacon of Middlesex, and his cousin, and he that afterwards was the worthy and beloved Bishop of London. This Vaughan was a deserving man, and known both for his learning, readiness in preaching, and other godly gifts, inferior to few; and long a Prebend of the church of St. Paul's. And being a senior Prebendary made interest with the Dean for the place of a Residentiary in that church, but was several times put by; which troubled not only him, but the Bishop too, knowing well his worth. But in April 1592, Archdeacon Molins lying in great extremity of sickness, and so a Residentiary's place likely again to become vacant, the Bishop concerned himself for Dr. Vaughan. And that his interest might the better prevail, (divers having been already recommended to the Dean of Paul's,) he addressed a letter to the Lord Treasurer, being moved in conscience, as he said, lest by too many repulses the worthy man should be discouraged; praying his favourable assistance in this suit; that it would please him at his [the Bi-

shop's] entreaty to send his letters to Mr. Dean on his behalf, being then in great hopes, that the success would be better than it had been: and at the least howsoever it fell out, both his Chaplain and he should acknowledge themselves deeply bounden to his Lordship's honourable furtherance given unto them herein. Adding, how he was marvellously troubled for lack of such an one as the Doctor was, to be ready at the Cross to supply the defects there; which happened divers times in the year by sickness, or negligence of them that were called to preach there. What effect this had, I cannot tell. But herein may be observed, how solicitous the Bishop was for the preferment of those about him; and what men of learning and merit he entertained. CHAP. XIV.

In fine, Aylmer had all the advantages that both prosperity and adversity are wont to contribute to make men wise and good. After much ease and reputation which he enjoyed at the Court, and in the family of a great nobleman, he was thrown out of all his places, glad to escape for his life, to leave his native country, and friends, and plenty, and live a banished man, and carry his life in his hand. And after, when he was restored by the merciful providence of God, and had his share, according to his merits, of honour and wealth again, it was so deeply mixed with sorrow and care, that he could have been heartily willing to have been stripped of all again, for a more private and peaceable life. But his earlier days, which he passed in the Court, seem to have administered the greatest pleasure to him. And by his converse there, he knew well the characters of great and noble persons. For he lived in the Duke of Suffolk's family, and was the instructor of his incomparable daughter, the Lady Jane Grey. And it may be reckoned one of his felicities, that he had the education of so rare a person both for learning and piety, as well as high birth and fortunes. A man of both fortunes.

And for her modest carriage, and good zeal to religion, this passage may be added concerning her, which Aylmer himself mentions somewhere; *viz.* that he knew a great His relation of a passage concerning the Lady Jane Grey.

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man's daughter, who having received from the Lady Mary goodly apparel of tinsel cloth of gold and velvet, laid on with parchment lace of gold, when she saw it, said, "What "shall I do with it?" "Marry," said a gentlewoman standing by, "wear it." "Nay," answered she, "that were a "shame to follow my Lady Mary against God's word, and "leave my Lady Elizabeth, which followeth God's word."

His opportunity of knowing the Lady (after Queen) Elizabeth.

While he thus conversed at Court in King Edward's days, he could not but take notice of the exemplary behaviour of the said Lady Elizabeth. Whereby he was able to give that character of her when she was young, before the crown fell to her, which he thought fit at her very first access to the kingdom to write and publish, for the better reconciling of her subjects to her government. And what he wrote was of his own knowledge, as he said. And he wished to God all men knew her as much as he, that they might conceive of her the same opinion that he had. He was acquainted with her first schoolmaster that taught her tongues: a man, he said, very honest and learned. And among other talk which he had with him of her, (for he was, as he said, very curious in questioning, and he [her master] as gentle in answering,) he told Aylmer once, that he learned more of her every day, than she of him: which seemed to Aylmer a mystery, as indeed it was. But because he would not keep him in doubt, thus he expounded it: "I "teach her words," said he, "and she me things. I teach "her the tongues to speak, and her modest and maidenly "looks teach me works to do. For," said he, "I think "she is the best disposed of any in all Europe." Aylmer farther spake of her, that an Italian, who taught her his tongue, told him once, that he found in her two qualities, which were never lightly yoke-fellows in one woman; namely, a singular wit, and a marvellous meek stomach. Aylmer added, that he would have thought that these men had thus commended her because she was their mistress: but by certain knowledge otherwise, he understood that it was the truth; and that they might have said much more, and not lied.

Roger Ascham.

This character his conversation in times past in the Court enabled him to give of Queen Elizabeth. And by giving this in the most public manner he could, in a printed book, he did a piece of very good service, to reconcile her a due respect in the minds of her subjects; many of whom, being led away by the Priests and actors in the late Popish government under her sister, had no great stomach to receive her. And therefore all the fairest characters, as well as other means to be used, were to be divulged of her. Wherein our Divine did his part, and merited well.

ADDITIONS.

SINCE the writing hereof, certain things have come to my hands, relating to some particular passages of the foregoing history; which I have here added, as judging them proper to give some further illustration to it.

Numb. I. Pag. 35.

Campion the Jesuit.

THE disputations with Campion, that boasting Jesuit, were there spoken of, and the small opinion the Bishop of London had of any good to be obtained thereby, partly in respect of the disputations themselves, wherein commonly not the soundest arguing, but the volublest tongue carrieth away the glory; and partly because of those flocks of auditors of little judgment that would be present; not a few whereof being Campion's well-willers, would not fail to blaze the matter to the Jesuit's praise, and the undervaluing of the Protestant Divines, his antagonists, and their cause. And so in truth it happened. For the stopping of which inconveniencies, the last day's conference was managed by writing, each disputant's arguments, by consent, being set down from their mouths by a person appointed for that purpose, (who was Thomas Norton, a Minister of good account,) and so were the answers likewise. Of these things the same Norton gave the Lord Burghley an account in a letter dated Sept. ult. in these words: "I pray your Lord-"ship to pardon me to say, that I think the course hitherto "taken, either by lack of order, or moderation, or conve-"nient respect of admitting men to be hearers, hath been "but fruitless and hurtful, and subject to great harm by

" reports. The last time I was a means, by advice, to have " it in some such form as did better content; and the order " to set down the objections and answers, and to repeat " them written, so as the parties should acknowledge them " to be their own before any answer or reply made unto " them, did greatly satisfy the hearers; being so surely " used, that in the whole day Campion could not complain " that I did him wrong in any one word, but always con- " fessed that his sayings were rightly conceived, and truly " set down. By which, mere confusion was avoided, and " by-talk was cut off: he was hardly driven to the wall: " what he once had granted, he could not resume; and our " cause is not so subject to false reports of his favourers."

Numb. II. Pag. 36.

ONE Cawood was mentioned there to have been taken up by Bishop Aylmer, for applauding publicly the abovesaid Campion and his learning, in his conferences, to the disparaging of the Protestant Divines that disputed with him. There was also another, named Oliver Plucket, (another of the crowd of common auditors,) who openly commended the said Campion, saying, that he had heard him dispute, and thought, in his conscience, that Campion was discreet and learned, and spoke very well: and that he would have convinced them that opposed him, if he might have been heard with indifferency. Which words were laid to his charge in December by the foreman of the Wardmote-inquest of the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn; which he owned. Whereupon the deputy of the ward, with the said foreman, preferred a bill of information against him to Fleetwood the Recorder. The issue was, that he also was committed.

According to the oath of the inquest. Vid. Stow's Surv. p. 682.

Numb. III. Pag. 52.

HERE we fall into the year 1580, where let me note, that while Aylmer was Bishop of London, the Clergy of the

The Bishop's doings in Convocation.

province of Canterbury met several times in their Synods: and I make no question so active a man as he was, and so useful as he had shewed himself to be once in a Synod in the first year of Queen Mary, was also very serviceable by his advices and conferences in these ecclesiastical assemblies under Queen Elizabeth, when he bore a greater figure. But I confess I have little to set down of this matter; only that in the year 1580, when the Convocation began to sit, January 17, our Bishop presided, being deputed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at that time sequestered, and under the Queen's displeasure; and was at the head of what business was then done. And in the Convocation that sat in February 1586, the Bishop complained of the Dean of Norwich and some others for not preaching at Paul's Cross, according to monition; it having been of long time customary for the Bishops of London to summon up from the Universities, or elsewhere, persons of the best abilities to preach those public sermons, whither the Prince and Court, and the magistrates of the city, besides a vast conflux of people, used to resort. For the due providing therefore for these sermons, and for the encouragement of the preachers that should come up, this Bishop was a great benefactor.

Rights of Convocat. p. 659.

Numb. IV. Pag. 104.

Dyke the Puritan.

WE there left Dyke under suspension from the Bishop, for troubling his auditory with new opinions. For the restoring of whom to his preaching, mention was made of an earnest petition put up by the parishioners to the Lord Burghley; which being omitted in the history, I will here give the tenor of it. It set forth, "how they had lived "without any ordinary preaching until within four or five "years. By which want they knew not, as they ought, "what did belong to God, what to their Prince, their "rulers, their neighbours, their families, to bring them up

" in that obedience and subjection as was meet. Neither " knew they how to keep them from such abuses as were " in common in the world; so as ignorance and disorder " was upon them and theirs for want of teaching. But that " of late it pleased the Lord to visit them with the means " of their salvation, the ordinary ministry of the word; and " through the godly endeavour of their very good patroness " the Lady Bacon, [widow of Sir Nic. Bacon, late Lord " Keeper,] at her especial and almost only charge, they en- " joyed Mr. Dyke, a preacher authorized: who, according " to his function, had been painful and profitable; and both " in life and doctrine had carried himself peaceably and " dutifully among them; so as no man could justly find " fault with him; except, of malice, some who were evil " disposed persons, and could not abide to hear their faults " reproved, did for that cause set themselves against him, " by slanders and such like practices labouring in all " places to their utmost to discredit him, and to hinder the " course of his ministry: yet none of them all, in the least " shew of evil, were able to touch him. That through his " preaching many had been brought from their ignorance " and evil ways to a better life; to be frequent hearers of " God's word; willing to every service of the Prince; ready " to distribute to the poor: and their servants were in " better order and government than in times past."

Dyke's auditors solicit the Lord Treasurer.

Then giving his Lordship to understand, " that this their " preacher was suspended by the Bishop of London; and " so they were now as sheep without a shepherd; exposed " and laid open to manifold dangers, even to return to their " former ignorance and cursed vanities. That they were no " better than their fathers, who in the absence of their good " guides corrupted themselves, and were soon turned out " of the way which God prescribed them. That the Lord " had spoken it, and therefore it must needs be inviolably " true, *Where there is no vision, the people perish.* And " that they having had some experience of his [the Lord " Burghley's] honourable care heretofore in the like case, " (for with all thankfulness they acknowledged, that through

" his means they had enjoyed this benefit of the word
" preached,) they were in their present distress emboldened
" to become most humble suitors and petitioners, next after
" God, unto his Honour, that in regard of so many benefits
" they had by preaching, and in respect of their great loss
" now upon them, by want whereof they were spoiled of
" their comfort, weakened to God-ward, and made more
" unfit for every good service and necessary work; it would
" please his Lordship, in the bowels of his honourable com-
" passion, to pity them in their present misery, and to be-
" come so favourable unto them, as by his means they
" might enjoy their Preacher again."

To this petition were subscribed the hands of six, and the marks of twenty-nine: which made the Bishop style them such as were "*dubbed with the title of yeomanry.*" But whatever mean mechanics these subscribers were, upon this, as was specified p. 104, the said Lord despatched his letter to the Bishop in Dyke's behalf. To which in answer the Bishop gave his reasons for suspending of him; which are there set down: as, that he was but Deacon, and so had continued many years, refusing the other order of Priesthood; shewing thereby his disaffection to the book of orders of the Church of England: that he lay under the infamy of uncleanness; and that he was an impugner of the established way of worship, and preached innovations. To this some time after the said Peer gave this second letter to the Bishop:

Who thereupon writes to the Bishop.

" That he had received his Lordship's letters of the 9th
" of November, in answer to his formerly written to him
" in the behalf of Mr. Dyke, Preacher at St. Michael's in
" St. Albon's. And that he had forborne hitherto to answer
" the same upon sundry causes alleged by his Lordship,
" that moved him to forbear to restore him, until he [the
" Lord Burghley] had more duly informed himself of the
" truth of some of those matters. Which if they had been true,
" as it seems his Lordship [the Bishop] was informed they
" were, he should not only be of his Lordship's opinion for
" his suspension, but think him worthy of further punish-

His second letter in Dyke's behalf.

" ment. But having, upon due inquisition and knowledge " from the best of that shire, understood, that the foul " matter wherewith he was charged in the open sessions at " St. Albon's, of incontinency, was maliciously informed " against him by a lewd woman, that seemed to have had " the report thereof from one Forster, a gentleman dwelling " in Essex. For he, by his letters written to the Justices, " and openly read in the Sessions-house, utterly denied to " have ever used any such speeches. Whereupon the wo- " man confessing her lewdness in slandering of him, and " asking him openly forgiveness, he sufficiently was cleared " thereof. And truly, my Lord, added he, in that manner " may the best Clergyman in this realm be slandered. That " he did not therefore see, but for that matter his Lord- " ship and all the world (who hereby might hardly con- " ceive of him) ought to be satisfied.

" And for one other matter, of his not administering the " Sacraments, he being but only Deacon, and having no " cure or charge, whereof to be Minister or Curate, might " not lawfully minister the Sacraments; although being a " Deacon, and so authorized, he might, as before his Lord- " ship's restraint he did, preach to the instruction of the " people.

" That for other matters, he thought his Lordship had " been over hardly informed against him: which made him " to continue in earnest manner his former request to him " on Dyke's behalf, and to pray him to restore him to his " former place of preaching at St. Michael's; where now " the people lived untaught, and had for a Curate a very " insufficient, aged, doting man. That his Lordship knew, " that *magna est messis, et operarii pauci; i. e.* the har- " vest was great, and the labourers few. And that al- " though he might have some imperfections, as the best of " us all are not void thereof, yet in a reasonable sort would " the same be borne withal, being but moved of zeal. " Which made him [the Lord Burghley] the more ear- " nestly to press his Lordship for this man's restitution: " who, he hoped, (if he had heretofore erred by overmuch

" earnestness,) would hereafter be more advised, and in a " temperate sort carry himself. And for this favour to " him, besides the good the people should receive in their " instruction, he should thank his Lordship for him. But " lastly, that he would not solicit his Lordship in his fa- " vour, if hereafter he should give just cause of any public " offence against the orders of the Church established."

Numb. V. Pag. 105.

Cartwright the Puritan.

MENTION was made how Thomas Cartwright and some other Puritans were taken up and brought before the ecclesiastical Commission, for setting up a new discipline contrary to that which was established in the Church of England; and that the said Cartwright, as the chief, being called before the Bishop and other ecclesiastical Commissioners, the said Bishop used a certain expostulatory speech to him. To add some further particulars. The names of the rest of these Puritan Ministers, besides Cartwright, disposed in the Fleet and other prisons about London, were as follow: Imprisoned.

Humphrey Fen.	Edward Lord.
Andrew King.	Edmund Snape.
Daniel Wight.	William Proudlove.
John Payne.	Melancthon Jewel.

The other Puritans in other prisons, their names.

The place where the Commission sat, when Cartwright was brought before them, was the Bishop's chamber. Where he was secretly called on Saturday afternoon, without any warning aforehand, to prevent, as was said, the cumbrance that the coming in of such as favoured him might occasion. And for the satisfaction of any who might be desirous to understand how these proceedings went, I will set down the remainder of the conference of the Bishop and the other Commissioners with Cartwright at this meeting, as I have it from an authentic paper.

The conference between the Bishop, with other Commissioners, and Cartwright.

Mr. Attorney's speech to him.

The Bishop having delivered himself, according as was shewn in the history, Cartwright began to speak, but Mr. Attorney Sir John Popham, another of the Commissioners, took the speech from him, and made a long discourse. The effect whereof was to shew, how dangerous a thing it was, that men should, upon the conceits of their own heads, and yet under colour of conscience, refuse the things that have been received for laws of long time. And that the oath [to answer to certain interrogatories] that was tendered was according to the laws of the land; which he commended above the laws of all other lands: yet so, that because they were the laws of men, they carried always some stain of imperfection. Also, that he was now to deal with Mr. Cartwright in two points: one was, the *peace* of the land, which was broken by him and others, through unlawful meetings, and making of laws: the other was, the *justice* of the land, which he and others had offended against, in refusing the oath now tendered: which, as he said, was used in other courts of the land. Neither was there any, in his conscience, learned in the laws, that did judge it unlawful. So exhorting Mr. Cartwright to take the oath, the rather for that he being aged should have more experience, and with it more wisdom than the others, he made an end of his speech.

The Bishop puts him upon taking the oath; which he declines.

After this, the Bishop requiring Mr. Cartwright to take the oath, he desired that ere he came to the oath, he might be received to answer the grievous charges which were given partly against him apart, and partly against him with others, by Mr. Attorney; but especially by his Lordship. Whereunto the Bishop answered, that he should not answer to any thing but only to the oath, whether he would take it, to answer the Articles which he had seen. And Mr. Cartwright replying, that it was a hard course to give open charges, and the same very grievous, and yet to shut men from all answer of them. The Bishop willed him, first to answer touching the oath; and then he should be admitted to answer the charges which had been made upon him. Mr. Cartwright following the order the Bishop had appointed him, answered, that the Articles being the same that they

His answer to the Articles.

upon oath would examine him of, which he had seen before, he had already made answer to them, drawing them forth out of his bosom; and withal offered to be sworn unto it; and that he could not make any further answer. Whereof when they demanded the reason, his answer was, that he had laid the chief strength of his refusal upon the law of God; secondly, upon the laws of the land: which in some men's judgment, professing the skill of the laws, did not warrant such proceeding. But seeing that he heard Mr. Attorney affirm as he did, and that he had no eyes to look into the depth and mysteries of the law, he would most principally rely, and stand at this present, upon the law of God.

Dr. Lewin's speech to him.

The oath *ex officio*.

Then Dr. Lewin spake, and said, that he would be glad that Mr. Cartwright should understand, that he was greatly deceived in that he called this oath the oath *ex officio*; whereas it was by express words derived from the authority of the Prince by a delegate power unto them. Wherefore that he had need to take heed, lest in refusal of this oath he refused that which the Prince authorized. Which speech the Bishop greatly commended; and willing Mr. Cartwright to take heed unto it, lest by refusal of this oath he should directly oppose himself to the authority of the Prince: Mr. Cartwright answered first, that in calling it an oath *ex officio*, he did it by warrant of this court, using no other language therein than the Bishop himself, that so called it, and another of the High Commission that was not then present, who called it the oath of *inquisition*. The Bishop denied that he had done so. But Mr. Cartwright appealing therein to the testimony of those which were present, he was silent. Secondly, Mr. Cartwright alleged, that he had seen commissions from her Majesty, wherein there was no mention of proceeding by corporal oath. Then Dr. Bancroft interrupting him, Mr. Cartwright desired that he might make an end of his answer. But Dr. Bancroft saying, that Mr. Cartwright might speak if he would, and that himself would keep silence; Mr. Cartwright answered, that he would give him place, and proceed after with his answer, if he remembered it. So Dr. Bancroft said, that the High

Bancroft's speech to him.

Commission had been altered, as occasion of time, persons, and other circumstances required. And that it was true indeed that the former Commissions had not inserted into them the clause of proceeding by oath: but that there were some men, discontented with the State, had sought curiously into these things, and observed them. And that Mr. Cartwright had taken them from them.

Some debate arises between the Bishop and Dr. Bancroft.

Hereupon there fell some jar betwixt the Bishop and Dr. Bancroft; the Bishop affirming that he liked not that saying of the Doctor, and the Doctor making it good, and not afraid to profess it. But the Bishop said, that he had been Commissioner this thirty years, partly in Lincoln, and partly in London, and had always that clause of the oath inserted. His fear being, as it seemed, lest they [the Commissioners] having used the oath always, and having no Commission, [warranting it,] but now of late, should be thought to be in the *præmunire*, for that they had used it so many years without warrant.

Cartwright's argument against this oath.

Then Mr. Cartwright said, that he had a hard point remaining of his answer to Dr. Lewin and the Bishop: which was, that although they might, by words of her Majesty's Commission, proceed by oath, yet it followed not, that therefore they might proceed by oath without any to accuse, without any limitation, and without reasonable time of deliberation and advice what to answer. And therefore he which refuseth not simply to swear, but to swear in such sort as they required, was not, as is said, directly opposite herein to the Queen's authority. Hereof there was some debating concerning the difference of this oath from the oaths tendered in other courts; Mr. Cartwright alleging, that although in other courts the words of the oath were general, yet that indeed it was restrained to some particular matter, which the deponent knew before he took the oath. And that himself, in title of hospital lands, [*viz.* the hospital in Warwick, where he was Master,] before certain Commissioners, had taken the oath which is accustomably given in other courts.

After, Mr. Dr. Bancroft charged him, that he had taken

this oath twenty years ago; asking, why it was not as lawful now as at that time. Whereunto he answered, that the case was not alike; for that then there was but one only matter for him to be examined of, and the same was known unto him before: also, that he had not so spent his time, (he thanked God,) but that in so long a space he had learned something, as in some other things, so in this. (He that wrote this relation said, he heard Mr. Cartwright say afterwards, that, had he not been interrupted, he could further have answered, that he took not that oath twenty years ago, but with exception to answer so far as might well stand with God's glory and the good of his neighbour.) Finally, that by the example of divers Ministers and others refusing this oath before him, he took occasion to search further than otherwise he was like to have done.

Cartwright's replies, when it was told him he had once taken the oath:

Then Dr. Bancroft said, that for so much as every man which had offended another was bound to confess his fault, and to reconcile himself, he should much more do it to the Prince. Whereunto Mr. Cartwright answering, that the case here was very unlike, and that this general rule did admit some exception; which seeming strange to Dr. Bancroft, he required of Mr. Cartwright an instance: who answered, that if he had spoken evil to one of a third man, which never came to the knowledge of it, it should not stand well with the rule of charity to open this matter unto the person whom he had wronged; considering that so he might (likely) break the knots of love, which without that confession might have continued whole.

And that we are bound to confess our faults:

Moreover, upon the charge which Mr. Attorney repeated, that Mr. Cartwright and others had holden conferences and made laws; Mr. Cartwright answered, that touching that point his answer was before them, which, being required, he would confirm upon his oath; that is, that they never held conferences by any authority, nor ever made any laws by any manner of compulsion, to procure any obedience unto them. Also, that he and others had expressly testified by subscription, that they would not so much as voluntarily and by mutual agreement, one of them without another,

And that he and others held conferences and made laws:

practise any advice or agreement that was contrary to any law in the land. Whereunto Mr. Dr. Bancroft replied, that authority they had none, and therefore could not use it; and compulsion needed not, seeing every one, received to their conferences, must subscribe to be obedient to all orders he and others should set down; so far as if they should set down the sense or interpretation of a place of Scripture, it should not be lawful for any to depart from that; which, said he, is deposed by three or four. But, said Mr. Cartwright, he might have ecclesiastical jurisdiction of reproof, suspension, excommunication, degradation, as they had been openly, but most untruly, charged to have done, if either, or others with him, had thought it lawful for them so to do. And for the other point, of their requiring subscription by any that was admitted, much less such a subscription as Mr. Dr. Bancroft spake of, he protested that neither had he so done, nor any that he knew: and that he was ready to make that also good upon his oath.

And when he was moved again to take the oath.

Further, Dr. Lewin moved Mr. Cartwright to take the oath, and then assured himself that the company would take at his hands any reasonable answer. To whom Mr. Cartwright answered, that he could not conveniently give any other answer than that which was before them. To whom when the Bishop replied, that then they would tell him where his answer was short, and required further answer: so, said Mr. Cartwright, shall not the oath make an end of the controversy; which notwithstanding is the proper use of an oath. Against which Mr. Dr. Bancroft excepted, saying, that an oath tended indeed to make an end of a controversy; but that it was strange that Mr. Cartwright said, that it should wholly end a controversy; albeit Mr. Cartwright therein alleged no interpretation, but the plain text.

Bancroft shews the danger of the discipline;

But, (said Mr. Dr. Bancroft,) Mr. Cartwright, think you thus to go away in the clouds, or to have to deal with men of so small judgment, as not to see what is your drift? Do not we know from whom you draw your discipline and Church-government? Do not we know their judgments and their practice? which is to bring in the further reformation

against the Prince's will by force and arms. It is well known, how one of the English Church at Geneva wrote a book to move to take arms against Queen Mary; and Mr. Whittingham's Preface before it. And who knoweth not, that the Church of Geneva allowed it? Also we have seen the practice in France. Likewise it is written in the Scottish story, how Mr. Knox moved the nobility of Scotland to bring in the Gospel with force against the Queen there; and likewise well known, that Mr. Calvin was banished Geneva, for that he would have brought in the discipline against the will of the magistrate. Whereunto Mr. Cartwright replied, that his meaning was not to hide himself in the clouds touching this matter, as one which had made a plain and direct denial hereof: wherein if any thing were doubtful, he would make it as plain as Mr. Doctor could set it down. But that he now perceived, that if others were like-minded to Mr. Dr. Bancroft, all purgation of ourselves by oath (which was now required of him and others) should be in vain; considering, that whatsoever they should depose, yet it might be answered, as Mr. Doctor doth, that they knew our drift well enough. Moreover, that he did the reformed Churches great injury, which never had either that judgment or practice he speaketh of, for any thing that he ever read or knew. That he had read the Scottish story, but remembered not that which he spake of. That some particular persons had written from Geneva some such things as he spake of; yet that it was a hard judgment to charge the Church of Geneva with it: which by an epistle set forth by Mr. Beza, a principal Minister thereof, had utterly disclaimed that judgment.

He meant Christopher Goodman.

The discipline in France, Scotland, and Geneva.

Cartwright's reply to this.

With this the Bishop took them up, and asked Mr. Cartwright once again, whether he would take the oath; and upon his refusal, commanded an act thereof to be entered. Then Mr. Cartwright putting the Bishop in mind of his promise of leave to answer the charges which were given against him, he answered, that he had no leisure to hear his answer: and if he would answer, he should do it by a private letter to the Bishop.

The Bishop makes an act of Cartwright's refusal.

The Queen had read his answers.

One thing beside Mr. Dr. Bancroft undertook to affirm there; that her Majesty had read Mr. Cartwright's answer to the Articles: which although it were abruptly brought in, yet it was esteemed that his meaning was thereby to signify, that her Majesty, notwithstanding the knowledge of that answer, would have this severe proceeding against him. And this was the sum of what was done at that sitting.

But since we have not yet seen fully what the crimes were that Cartwright and his fellows were accused of, I shall add here the effect of the principal matters in the bill of complaint against them; *viz.*

The Articles charged against Cartwright and his fellows.

"That there had been of late set forth by some seditious "people, a government of the Church by Doctors, Pastors, "Elders, Deacons, and such like.

"With a new form of Common Prayer and Administra- "tion of the Sacraments, and discipline for the Church, "comprised in a book entitled, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ Sacra*, "*Dei verbo descripta:* and other books and pamphlets of "like nature.

"That the defendants had unlawfully and seditiously "assembled themselves together concerning the premises.

"And had in those [assemblies] treated of, and con- "cluded upon, sundry seditious Articles, in allowance of "the same books, and of the matters therein contained.

"Unto which Articles the defendants had in some of "those assemblies submitted themselves and subscribed, "and put part thereof in execution. For which misde- "meanors they had been called in question before the High "Commissioners: where they refused to take the oath "ministered to them, to answer to such Articles as they "were to be examined of on her Majesty's behalf concern- "ing the same.

"Of all which a bill had been exhibited by direction "from the Lords into the Star-chamber against the defend- "ants. In which bill was also contained, that they, under "colour and pretence of discipline and charity, did derive "to themselves power to deal in all manner of causes what- "soever; and had moved and persuaded sundry her Ma-

" jesty's subjects, to refuse to take any oath to answer to " any matter that might concern any the unlawful doings " and proceedings of them, their brethren, and teachers."

Lastly, I will subjoin the process of this business, with the interrogatories, and how matters stood with them June 23, 1591. The proceedings with them.

To the former bill the defendants in their answer have confessed their denial to take the oath before the Commissioners; and for the rest of the most material matters have made an uncertain and insufficient answer. How the cause with the Puritans stood.

Which being referred by the Court to the consideration of the Chief Justices, Chief Baron and Mr. Justice Gawdy, they advising thereof, did set down wherein their answers were insufficient, and that they ought to answer the same particularly and directly.

This notwithstanding, they made their answer in effect in many points as imperfect as before; and in some points oppose themselves against the report of the Judges, that they ought not to answer them.

Whereupon interrogatories were ministered unto them upon the parts of the bill. Whereof they answer not at all the most part, and the principal interrogatories.

Hereupon, the consideration thereof being by the court eftsoons committed to the said Judges; and they to set down wherein and which of the interrogatories ought to be better answered, and that the same should be answered accordingly.

The defendants being thereupon eftsoons examined upon these interrogatories according to the direction, do notwithstanding still refuse to answer them. As namely these: Interrogatories put to them.

" Where the said assemblies were made; when, and how " often.

" Who were at the same assemblies as well as themselves.

" What matters were treated of in the same assemblies.

" Who made or set forth, corrected or reformed, the said " book of discipline, or any part thereof.

" Who subscribed, or submitted themselves to the same

" book, or to the Articles therein concluded, besides the " said defendants.

" Whether in a Christian monarchy the King is to be " accounted among the governors of the Church, or amongst " those which are to be governed by Pastors, Doctors, or " such like.

" Whether in a well-ordered Church it is lawful for the " Sovereign Prince to ordain orders and ceremonies apper- " taining to the Church.

" Whether ecclesiastical government, established by her " Majesty's authority within the Church of England, be " lawful, or allowed by the word of God.

" Whether the Sacraments ministered within her Ma- " jesty's dominions, as they be ordained by the Book of " Common Prayer to be ministered, be godly and rightly " ministered."

Numb. VI. Pag. 113.

Upon the Bishop's death the Dean and Chapter claim the temporalties.

THE Bishop being now four days deceased, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's claimed a privilege upon his death, and during the vacation of his bishopric; which was, to enjoy the temporalties of the bishopric, paying yearly 100*l.* for the same: and that by an old charter, given to the Corporation by King Edward II. And so made their suit to the Lord Treasurer Burghley; who accordingly ordered Fanshaw, an officer in the Exchequer, to examine the charter, and how it had been allowed formerly: which he did, and found it to be of the same effect. And that in King Henry VIII.'s time, upon the translation of Cuthbert ann. Reg. 25. the bishopric being vacant, the Dean and Chapter had the custody of the bishopric and temporalties. And when Stokesley succeeded in that see, the King granted to him all the right and title that he had in the temporalties and rent thereof, which before was had and taken by the Dean and Chapter, and did discharge the Dean and Chapter. The Treasurer being satisfied with this charter and this late precedent, I find that after some time they had the

temporalties let and consigned to them by the Queen, upon the consideration of 1000*l.* a year; (computing the 100*l.* in Edward II.'s time worth 1000*l.* now.) And afterwards, upon the admission of Richard Fletcher to be Bishop, the Treasurer demanded an account of the Dean and Chapter of their receipts of money and rent; which they sent him in; that is, from June 5, 1594, to January 24 ensuing: in their paper calling themselves *custodes episcopatus ac omnium temporalium ejusdem, quamdiu idem episcopatus vacavit.* And it was computed that they were to pay, according to their account, (after the rate of 1000*l.* per ann.) for the temporalties, for the time they held them, 320*l.* 11*s.* And the Queen wrote her letters to them to restore the allocation thereof to the reverend Father Richard Fletcher; whom she had nominated for Bishop.

The Dean and Chapter *custodes episcopatus.*

Numb. VII. Pag. 127.

MANY persons of note of the Aylmers in England had been there spoke of: but as the name had flourished here at home, so it spread itself considerably in the neighbouring kingdom of Ireland; where the Aylmers were settled time out of mind. Their first coming thither is uncertain; probably two hundred years ago, and more. The first we meet with of that stock there, was Richard, (a great name in the family,) being the ancientest person taken notice of in a visitation book (remaining in the library of the college near Dublin) of Molineux, sometime Ulster King of Arms of Ireland: which Richard perhaps was the son of that Richard of Norwich, who had been Mayor of that city; and is said in his monumental inscription to be *procerum de stipite natus.* The abovesaid Richard married Katherine, daughter of Petit, of Piersetown in the county of Meath. Whose son and heir married Margaret, daughter of Bartholomew Bath, of Dullardstown in the county of Meath, Esquire. By whom he had Bartholomew Aylmer, of Lyons in Kildare. Who married to Margaret, daughter of Chevers

The Aylmers of Ireland.

Vid. p. 126.

of Maston in the county of Meath, Esquire. And had two sons, Sir Garret of Dullardstown, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas anno 1535. and married Alson, daughter of Fitz Garald of Athlone. His other son (who was the elder) was named Richard; married to Jenet, daughter of Twee, Alderman of Dublin. And from these two brothers the family branched out numerously into the Aylmers of the Lyons and of Dullardstown: and intermarried into the best houses in the counties of Meath and Kildare. As the last named Richard had Richard, that married Eleoner, daughter of James Lord Slane. Their son Thomas married Alson, daughter of Thomas Cusack, Knight, Lord Chancellor of Ireland anno 1550. who had issue, Bartholomew married to Cicely, daughter of Robert Pipho, and Jenet, daughter of Viscount Gormanston. Their son was Thomas, that took to wife Mabil, daughter of Peter Barnwel, Knight. The other brother, Sir Garret, or Gereld, that was Chief Justice, (as is abovesaid,) had Bartholomew, and he James, and James Nicolas, and he Christopher, and Christopher Richard; who married the daughter of Sir Robert Dillon, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and died anno 1635. He left (besides other sons and daughters) James, that matched to Johanna, daughter of Christopher Lord Killeen.

From the other house, *viz.* of the Lyons, came Christopher, a sober, wise, and studious man; who, living in the times of the civil wars, shewed his loyalty to King Charles I. by giving him his assistance, and afterwards by suffering exile for him in Spain. This Christopher married a daughter of Matthew Plunket, Lord of Lowth: whose issue was Sir Gerald, the eldest, and Matthew, now living, appointed Admiral to the royal fleet sent into the Straits: where he did faithful service to his great honour and reputation: now Governor of Deal castle, and one of the Barons in Parliament for the Cinque Port of Dover: the inhabitants of which place hold themselves much obliged to him for procuring the late act for the repairing of Dover pier, a matter of such importance to the whole nation.

In short, this family of the Aylmers of Ireland is related to the noblest and best houses in the counties of Meath, Dublin, and Kildare; as the Lutterels, the Fitz-Geralds, the Fitz-Moris, Cusacks, Dillons, Fitz-Simons, Piphos, Chivers, Plunkets, Flemmings, Husseys, and others. And Camden, reckoning up the best families of English extraction in Meath, specifies the Fitz-Geralds, the Ougans, De la Hides, Walshes, Boisels, Whites, Suttons, and among the rest the Aylmers. In his Britannia.

Numb. VIII. Pag. 130.

THAT unequal marriage, for the solemnizing whereof a licence was obtained out of the Bishop's Faculty Office, was mentioned to have been complained of at Court, and occasioned blame to the Bishop. The particulars of it, omitted in the history, were as follow. The parties were Sir Thomas Parrot and the Lady Dorothy Devereux, daughter to the Earl of Essex, of right noble and ancient blood: which lady at that time lived with Sir Henry Cock, Kt. in the parish of Broxburn in Hertfordshire: where, getting into the parish church, they were married by a strange Minister, whom they had procured, two men guarding the church door with their swords and daggers under their cloaks, as the rest of the company had, to the number of five or six. One Green was then Vicar of the parish, to whom that morning repaired two persons. One of them told him that he was a Minister, and a Bachelor of Divinity, and had been a Preacher of long time; and asked him for the key of the church door, which must be opened to him, for he had a commission, whereupon he was to examine certain men, and to swear them: and therefore asked him also for the Communion Book. The Vicar told him it was locked up in the vestry, and he could not come by it: but instead thereof he offered him a Latin Testament. But the other said, that would not serve his turn. Coming to the church he found it open, and Sir Thomas and the lady ready to

The stolen match of the Lady Dorothy Devereux with Sir Thomas Parrot.

enter in; who hindered him by any means from shutting it. But perceiving that they meant to proceed to a marriage, he persuaded the strange Minister not to deal herein, wondering how he would intrude himself into his [the Vicar's] charge; and then offered to him an injunction against it, and began to read it unto them; which was to this tenor:

An injunction about licences to marry.

"*Item*, For the avoiding of inconvenience which sometimes groweth by licences to marry without the banns asking, (which notwithstanding are sometimes reasonably granted,) no man shall be suffered to marry any person with such licence (the banns not being first orderly published) but in the church or chapel where he is Parson, Vicar, or ordinary Curate; neither at any other time than is usual for public and common prayer; neither except he do first shew his sufficient licence to the Churchwardens of the said church or chapel: and either by his own knowledge, or the knowledge of the said Churchwardens, be assured, that the parties to be married have thereto the assent of their parents or other governors."

But they refused to hear it; and the strange Minister (whose name was Lewis) told the Vicar he had sufficient authority, shewing him a licence under seal; which the Vicar offered to read: but before he had read half of it, Sir Thomas snatched it away from him, and offered him a rial to marry him. But he refusing, Sir Thomas bade the other go forward. But the Vicar, when the other began to read, resisted him, and shut the book. Whereupon Sir Thomas thrust him away, and told him he had nothing to do therewith, and that he should answer it for resisting my Lord Bishop's authority. And one Godolphin, one of Sir Thomas's party, took him up, and told him he shewed himself malicious. Whereupon, after once more forbidding him, he held his peace. Edmund Lucy, Esq. one that lived in Sir Henry Cock's family together with the Lady Dorothy, coming in, plucked away the book from the Minister; who told him he should answer it, and was in danger of a *premunire* for resisting the Bishop's authority; and so he went

forward with his office without the surplice, in his cloak, with his riding boots and spurs, and despatched it hastily. This soon came to the Court: and she being a daughter of one of the ancient noblesse, (though she herself was in the plot,) gave great offence; and Sir Henry Cock, being a Justice of Peace, was commanded to take the examination of the matter, and send it up. And in fine, the Bishop of London underwent much blame for his Faculties. And what followed upon it you may read in the history.

An enumeration of Books, both printed and manuscript, made use of by the Author in compiling this Work, or mentioned in it.

PRINTED.

Roger Ascham's Schoolmaster, printed anno 1571.

His Latin Epistles, printed at London anno 1578.

Admonition to the People of England: wherein are answered the slanderous untruths of Martin the Libeller and others, printed anno 1589.

An Admonition to the Parliament, by Tho. Cartwright and others, about the year 1570.

Antipathy of Popish Prelates. By Will. Prin.

Acts and Monuments of the Church. By John Fox.

A Blast against the Government of Women. By John Knox.

A Brief View of the State of the Church. By Sir John Harrington.

The Book of Canons agreed upon in the Convocation House, anno 1571.

The Concent. By Hugh Broughton.

The Discovery of a gaping Gulph, whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage. Written by Stubbs. Printed 1579.

Decades. By Hen. Bullinger.

De Disciplina. A book set forth by Puritans anno 1574.

An evident Display of Popish Practices, or patched Pelagianism. By Hopkinson. Printed anno 1578.

De Ecclesia. By Wickliff.

Ecclesiastical History. By Tho. Fuller.

Farewell Sermon at St. Paul's. By Bishop Sandys, anno 1576.

Funeral Monuments. By Weever.

George Giffard against Barrow the Separatist.

History of St. Paul's Church. By Dugdale.

Harborough for faithful Subjects. By John Aylmer. Printed at Strasburgh anno 1559.

Historia Literaria. By Dr. Cave.

The Innocency of the Scotch Queen. Writ in French.

Martin Marprelate.

A Proof. By Tho. Dorman, Priest.

Ten Reasons. By Campion the Jesuit.

A Pamphlet in rhyme against the King of Spain, upon the Defeat anno 1588.

Mr. Squire's Sermon at Paul's Cross.

His Sermon at the Assizes at Hertford, Mr. Newce being High Sheriff.

Stow's Survey of London.

The Queen's Power in Spirituals. By John Aylmer.

MANUSCRIPT.

Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra, Dei verbo descripta.

Collections Historical and Genealogical, of Sir George Buck, Kt.

Several volumes in the Library of the College of Arms.

Manuscripts of Sir Henry St. George, Kt. Clarencieux King of Arms.

Manuscripts in the Paper Office.

Manuscripts of the Right Reverend Father, the present Bishop of Norwich.

The Registers of Bishop Aylmer and other Bishops.

Epistolæ Johannis Foxii Martyrologi.

Manuscripta penes me.

A Visitation Book of Molineux, sometime Ulster King of Arms of Ireland.

THE END.